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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY

DELIVERED IN THE
SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 18 AND 19, 1905

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HON. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY

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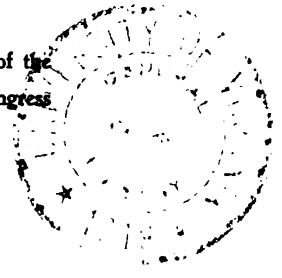
MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY

(Late a Senator from Pennsylvania)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Third Session of the
Fifty-eighth Congress



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DEATH OF SENATOR MATTHEW S. QUAY.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

MONDAY, *December* 5, 1904.

PRAYER.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, offered the following prayer:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first and greatest commandment, and the second is like unto it, namely, this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Let us pray.

Father, we thank Thee for so much. We thank Thee for life and health and strength, and that we are here together now, and, best of all, that Thou art with us to give us new life, to give us new health, to give us new strength, to guide us and help us wherever we go and whereever we are.

Make this Thine own home, that we may find Thee always when we need Thy help, as always we do need it; that wherever we go we may go as the children of the living God, ready to do Thy work, that we may live to Thy glory.

Father, Thou hast given Thy servants here so much to do. They have to spend these months in caring for the coming of Thy kingdom and for nothing less—that the nations of the

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world may be one, that the States may bear each others' burdens, each as the others' brethren, that for all sorts and conditions of men Thou shalt make Thy gospel known, each for all and all for each, for all races and all sects and creeds and communions, that all may join in the common service, as children working with their Father. Thou art with us; hear us and answer us.

And we remember, Father, those whose faces we shall not see here ever again—Thy servants whom Thou hast lifted to higher service. They pray while we pray; they hope as we hope. Bind us together, those whom we see and those whom we do not see, in the great brotherhood of the children of the living God. We ask it and offer it in Christ Jesus.

Join me in the Lord's prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

DEATH OF SENATOR QUAY.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce to the Senate the death of my late colleague, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, which occurred at his home in Beaver, Pa., on the 28th day of May last.

I shall not at this moment take up the time of the Senate with any extended remarks touching his personal character and his public services, but will content myself with simply submitting the following resolutions, asking consideration for them after similar resolutions, which I understand the Senator from Massachusetts desires to submit, have been considered.

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At some more appropriate time I will ask the Senate to suspend its ordinary business in order that fitting tribute may be paid to the memory of my deceased colleague.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania offers resolutions which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret of the death of Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, in behalf of the Senator from Pennsylvania and myself I now offer the following resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the two Senators (Senator Quay and Senator Hoar) whose deaths have just been announced the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

The Senate accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 6, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR QUAY.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I give notice that on Saturday, February 18, after the routine morning business, I shall present resolutions commemorative of the life, character, and public services of my late colleague, Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES.

SATURDAY, *February 18, 1905.*

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, in accordance with the notice which I have heretofore given to the Senate, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolutions which I submit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Kean in the Chair). The Senator from Pennsylvania offers resolutions which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. MATTHEW S. QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

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Address of Mr. Penrose, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. President: In addressing you to-day I bear my last tribute to the memory of one with whom I held associations of peculiar intimacy, social, political, and official, for a period of about twenty years. Tested in many severe political contests, our relations were seldom marred by any disagreement, and never encountered an occasion to disturb our mutual confidence and regard.

His character was complex, and his abilities so extraordinary as to be many times misunderstood. A fair estimate can not be made of him except with the perspective of time. He was a soldier with as brilliant a record for bravery as is contained in the history of the civil war; a scholar, with as broad a basis of culture and learning as was possessed by any public man of his time in the United States; a statesman, ever true to the best principles of American patriotism; a political general whose battles will have places in political annals like those of Marlborough and Napoleon in the histories of military campaigns.

Kindliness of manner, simplicity of speech, sympathy of feeling, were the ordinary traits of his character. He was remarkably unaffected and unpretentious. He was not above the common failings of humanity. He possessed remarkable serenity of mind. His ordinary attitude toward calumny was one of genuine indifference. He seldom harbored any bitterness, and was ever ready to be reconciled with those to whom he had been opposed. He commanded the adherence of his followers by the confidence inspired of his courage and ability,

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and he was feared by his opponents, who recalled his many victories and his resourceful skill.

He had rare discernment and judgment as to public sentiment, and upon not a single occasion did he advocate a weak or un-American principle. His vote was almost invariably recorded on the right side of a question. Many of his most notable political acts were apparently done without consultation with or knowledge on the part of his political associates. On these occasions he seemed to act with a sudden intuition, which seldom failed of successful vindication. He seemed to take in at a glance the weak point in the enemy's lines, and to know with intuition amounting to military genius the point to which to direct his attack.

Frequently himself the subject of attack he never failed at the proper time to assume the aggressive. He did not deal in lofty pretensions, but few men were more careful not to perform any act that would redound to the discredit of his country.

He had absolute confidence in the people of Pennsylvania, and never feared to appeal to them boldly and directly, sometimes against what seemed great political odds. Frequently he was apparently ready to step from the field to enjoy the rest he professed so earnestly to desire, but fresh assaults drove him again into the battle. Few active lives extended over a greater space of time than his, and none included such constant struggle, so many cases in which victory was snatched from defeat, and ill fortune conquered by the genius of political generalship than his. His political career extended over a period of forty-five years, beginning with his election to a county office in Beaver. After his military service was over his career became identical with the political history of Pennsylvania, and for the greater part of the time he was the central figure in the contests which have controlled the State.

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No public man in the history of American politics was so much the subject of unbridled, malevolent, partisan, and ignorant abuse and misrepresentation. Proper criticism of public men is to be invited and encouraged and not decried, but in his case criticism overshot the mark. Unjust and baseless calumny and detraction only excited the generous indignation of his friends and strengthened the adherence and determination of his party followers; while the public mind, made callous by indiscriminate abuse, gave deaf ear even when appeals were made in matters often of legitimate discussion and criticism.

In perhaps the darkest crisis of his long and often stormy political career, by a courageous and aggressive movement he struck the center of the opposition forces, and was elected treasurer of the State. After his second election to the Senate, at a time of life when most men seek merited repose and enjoyment of achievement, he entered upon one of the most prolonged and hard-fought struggles in the political annals of Pennsylvania or any other State. After his reelection for the third time to the Senate there was hardly a voice raised in the State against his political leadership. Had he lived there would hardly have been a semblance of a contest on the question of his reelection by the present legislature.

He passed away, having, after unparalleled struggles, achieved complete success, having reached the age of three score and ten, with his leadership admitted by all and maintained by the general assent of his party.

Mr. QUAY was born in Dillsburg, York County, Pa., September 30, 1833, and was of Scotch-Irish extraction. He was the son of Rev. Anderson Beaton and Catherine (McCain) Quay, and he was named after Gen. Matthew Stanley,

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of Brandywine Manor, Chester County. The Rev. Anderson Beaton Quay was eminent as a Presbyterian clergyman, both in eastern and western Pennsylvania. Joseph Quay, father of the Rev. Anderson B. Quay, married Asenath Anderson and resided in what is now Schuylkill Township, Chester County, Pa.; and in this township Patrick Anderson, father of Mrs. Asenath Quay, was the first child to have its nativity. Patrick Anderson was a captain in the old French and Indian war, and on the outbreak of the Revolution was, with Anthony Wayne, a member of the Chester County committee. In 1776 he entered into active service as captain of the first company mustered into the Pennsylvania musketry battalion, and after the battle of Long Island, in which Colonel Attee was captured and Lieutenant-Colonel Perry killed, he became its commander. In 1778 and 1779 he sat in the Pennsylvania assembly, and his son, Isaac Anderson, represented the same district in Congress from 1803 to 1807. James Anderson, father of Col. Patrick Anderson, came from Isle of Syke in 1713, settled in Pennsylvania, and there married Elizabeth Jerman, daughter of Thomas Jerman, a famous Quaker preacher, who, with his wife, Elizabeth, came from Wales and settled in the Chester Valley in Pennsylvania about the year 1700, and erected one of the earliest mills in the province.

It has been observed that it was a great source of strength for Mr. QUAY that through his ancestry and in his own life work he was thoroughly identified with the people of Pennsylvania, and had participated in all their trials and struggles. He was imbued with a sincere faith in the merit of their achievements, and understanding their wishes and characteristics, was peculiarly fitted to represent them. He had much pride and interest in his ancestry, and boasted of his pure Pennsylvania stock. It is doubtful whether he had

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ever addressed a public audience until October 1, 1900, when he made the opening speech at Westchester, Pa., in a remarkable speech-making canvass incident to his candidacy for election to the Senate, in which he declared:

> I may claim kinship with you, for my parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and great-great-grandparents were of your people. My great-grandfather was the first white child born in Charlestown Township and commanded detachments of your troops in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars. His mother was the daughter of Thomas Jerman, the Quaker preacher in the Chester Valley. His wife, my great-grandmother, was the sister of Col. John Beaton, who was chairman of your committee of safety in Revolutionary times. The half-brother of my grandmother represented this district in Congress in 1803, so that I might use here the jungle call of Mowgli in Kipling's romance: "We are of one blood, ye and I."

And again, in one of the closing speeches of the same campaign at Phoenixville, on October 27, 1900, he declares:

> It gives me great pleasure to meet my fellow-citizens of Phoenixville. It is, in a measure, a home-coming. Only 2 or 3 miles hence, some of my ancestors came out of the ground a couple of centuries ago. It was so long ago that the red Indians had still their village here. The story goes that my great-great-grandmother, when she went to meet her father, a Quaker preacher over in the Chester Valley, left her babe, my great-grandfather, Patrick Anderson, in charge of the Indian squaws. I would suggest that from this suckling came my total depravity were it not that my relative, Mr. Anderson, who lives on the property his ancestors owned in 1712, might object.

He was brought to western Pennsylvania as a boy in 1840, his father having been selected as the pastor of a strong and influential congregation of Presbyterians in Indiana County, Pa. He remained at that place for upward of ten years, and here the young man got his academic education, being a classmate of the late Judge Silas M. Clark, of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. From Indiana County the Rev. Mr. Quay moved to Beaver, Pa., which was the home of his son, Senator QUAY, for nearly fifty years.

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After being thoroughly prepared, he entered Washington and Jefferson College, at Canonsburg, Washington County, from which institution of learning he was graduated with distinction at the early age of 17 years. In 1850 he commenced the study of law in Pittsburg, in the office of Penney & Sterrett, a prominent legal firm, of whom the junior partner later became famous as a judge in Allegheny County and as a member and chief justice of the supreme court of the State of Pennsylvania. But before he had completed his legal studies Mr. QUAY became desirous of traveling, and accompanied a college friend to his home in Mississippi. After a sojourn of two years in that State, and in Louisiana and Texas, during which time he taught school, lectured, and acquired much valuable information, he returned to his home in Beaver, where the impress of his strong will and well-balanced mind was soon made, not only upon the politics of his county, but on that of the whole State. Immediately after his return Mr. QUAY resumed his legal studies with R. P. Roberts, afterwards colonel of the One hundred and fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteers, who was killed at Gettysburg. In 1854 he was admitted to the Beaver bar; in 1855 he was appointed prothonotary of Beaver County; in 1856 he was elected to the same office, and reelected in 1859. In 1861, moved by the same patriotic spirit that possessed so many young men, he resigned his office to accept a lieutenancy in the Pennsylvania Reserves, then organizing for service. While his regiment was awaiting at Camp Wright the call to the front, he was summoned to Harrisburg and made assistant commissary-general of the State, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. It was here that his capacity for organization, his energy, and his rigid and exact attention to details soon attracted the attention of the authorities, and upon the transfer of the commissary department to Washington, Governor

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Curtin appointed him his private secretary. The military staff of the governor having been dispensed with about that time, the duties of these offices, together with the then enormous correspondence of the executive office, devolved upon the private secretary, all of which were diligently and methodically performed.

In August, 1862, Colonel QUAY was selected to command the One hundred and thirty-fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, nine months' service, and continued to fill that position until prostrated and enfeebled by typhoid fever, after the battle of Antietam. Afterwards he was chosen by Governor Curtin to attend to the delicate and responsible duties of State agent at Washington. His resignation as colonel of the One hundred and thirty-fourth, on account of physical disability, was accepted; but the acceptance arrived immediately upon the eve of the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and into the fight he accompanied his regiment as a volunteer, eliciting by his conduct a complimentary mention in general orders and receiving from Congress the medal of honor for gallantry on the field. He fulfilled with great credit all that was required of him as State agent, the duties of his place being exacting and arduous, as Pennsylvania was a border State, the seat of war, and subject to its ravages. The legislature, in 1863, in order to meet the urgent needs of the service, created the office of military secretary, and Governor Curtin, remembering the valuable services of his former private secretary, immediately recalled him and assigned him to the newly created post. Upon the death of Col. W. W. Sees, superintendent of transportation and telegraph, the duties of that office were also transferred to him.

Holding these important and confidential relations to the governor until 1865, he resigned them to take his seat in the

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legislature, to which he was elected in 1864, to represent the district of Washington and Beaver counties, and was reelected in 1865 and 1866. In this body he was made chairman of the committee on ways and means, and among the many important measures reported and passed during the winter of 1867 which bore his stamp was the act relieving real estate from taxation. In 1867 the Republican party was divided into two factions on the question of the United States Senatorship, one supporting ex-Governor Curtin, the other Simon Cameron. Cameron opposed Colonel QUAY, who was a candidate for speaker of the house, and finally succeeded in defeating him by defection from the Curtin forces.

No act of Mr. QUAY's early political career has been so much misunderstood and criticised as his action in this speakership contest, and he has been charged by his opponents with a base betrayal of Curtin for his own personal aggrandizement. There is as little foundation for charges of this character in this incident as there is in nearly all of the similar accusations made against him during his long career. It is the universal testimony of those active in that notable contest upon each side, who are now living and able to give testimony, that Mr. QUAY'S course in this matter was straightforward and honorable. Senator J. Donald Cameron, who was in charge of the opposition to Mr. QUAY at the time, has frequently explained to me the details of the contest, and Col. A. K. McClure, who sat with Senator QUAY as a delegate in the State convention of the preceding year that nominated General Geary for governor, has written as follows:

> President Johnson was then shaping his departure from the Republican party, but he had three years of patronage in his hands and many of the Republican leaders were unwilling to cut themselves off. * * * The elder Cameron was then an important political factor and leader of the faction opposed to Curtin. He maintained relations with President Johnson

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sufficiently close to control most of the important appointments of the State, and the first question presented when the convention met was the proposition from Cameron to give some sort of indorsement to the Johnson Administration. A dozen or more prominent delegates opposed to that policy met in QUAY'S room the night before the convention convened. There was much feeling on the subject and the discussion was very greatly embittered. QUAY was silent until most of those present had been heard, when he said, in his quiet way, "There is but one thing to do; give notice to those who want the Administration of Johnson indorsed in this convention that if it shall be done we will withdraw and hold a Republican convention and nominate a ticket." The suggestion was adopted, the notice was given, and that ended all idea of indorsing the National Administration. Cameron practically had control of that convention for the first time since his battle with Curtin, and he forced the nomination of Geary. QUAY sat with me in my room the night after the nomination until nearly daylight discussing the situation. He believed that the election of Geary would not only make Cameron master of the party in the State, but would utterly demoralize and practically destroy the Republican organization by making it either the apologist or the supporter of President Johnson. He was nothing if not heroic, and his proposition was that an open and defiant rebellion should be inaugurated because defeat at that time would be better for the Republican party than victory. * * * One of the strange features of the political situation after the election of Geary and of a legislature that was positively instructed for or pledged to Curtin was the fact that the political triumph so sincerely and earnestly deplored by QUAY led to QUAY'S severance from the Curtin organization, whence he had steadily and logically gravitated into the Cameron fold. He was the Curtin candidate for speaker of the House, and made a great battle for his election in a body that had a clear majority friendly to Curtin; but Cameron, who was a masterly manipulator, gathered the entire field of Senatorial candidates against Curtin into a combination to defeat the Curtin candidate for speaker, as QUAY'S election would surely elect Curtin to the Senate. The interest of local candidates for Senator, such as Stevens, Grow, Moorehead, and others, forced their delegations to aid in defeating QUAY. * * * The contest was exceedingly bitter, and when Cameron * * * had attained the control of the Republican caucus he naturally feared that Curtin would bolt and might defeat Cameron by alliance with the Democrats. J. Donald Cameron, who succeeded his father in the Senate, was then active in the management of his father's political affairs, and he sent for QUAY, assured him that there would be no ostracism of the Curtin people in the event of his father's election, and made such propositions for party unity as might induce QUAY to prevent a bolt. QUAY promptly reported the conversation to Curtin and myself. We all knew then that Curtin was defeated, and Curtin was emphatic in the declaration that he

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would not allow himself to be involved in a bolting fight for the Senatorship. QUAY was then informed that he could not sacrifice any interest of Curtin; that he was entirely at liberty to act in harmony with Cameron if he thought it best. The result was that QUAY agreed with Cameron that when the nomination of Cameron was accomplished in the caucus he would move that the nomination be made unanimous, and Representatives Davis and Ridgway and others who were prominent supporters of Curtin finally joined QUAY in an agreement with Cameron to sustain the nomination when made, although all of them were sincere supporters of Curtin. The result was the election of Cameron and practically the end of Curtin's power as a Republican leader in the State.

When Grant came into the Presidency he appointed Curtin to the Russian mission. With Curtin absent and Cameron in the Senate, the Curtin organization, once so powerful in the State, gradually disintegrated, and the political control of the party in Pennsylvania passed into the hands of Cameron, with QUAY as Cameron's chief lieutenant. Curtin remained in Russia until 1872, and before he had reached home he had publicly identified himself with the opposition to Grant's reelection, and logically drifted into the Liberal Republican movement, by which he was made its candidate at large for the constitutional convention, and adopted by the Democrats. Thereafter, however, until Curtin's death, QUAY'S personal friendship with Curtin was unabated, and in 1878, when Curtin was defeated as the Democratic candidate for Congress and contested the election, QUAY personally exerted all the power he could wield to aid Curtin in his contest. While Curtin and Cameron remained absolutely estranged, QUAY held the position of trusted lieutenant of Cameron, but never was forgetful of the debt of gratitude he owed Curtin.

In 1868 the war of the factions was renewed, and the following winter saw the anti-Cameron candidate elected State treasurer. In 1869 the breach was healed, and Hon. John Scott was elected United States Senator and Robert W. Mackey State treasurer. In 1869, Colonel QUAY started the

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Beaver Radical, and issued the first number without a subscriber. This paper was conducted with rare ability and soon fought its way to a leading position among the journals of the State, and its opinions, which were quoted extensively, contributed largely toward shaping public sentiment. In the canvass which resulted in the election of General Hartranft as governor, Colonel QUAY was his devoted and unswerving advocate, and exerted a powerful and controlling influence. Governor Hartranft appointed Colonel QUAY secretary of the Commonwealth. In this position, which he filled from 1873 to 1878, his experience in legislation, his great acquaintance, his knowledge of the character of public men, and his quick observation and good judgment were of incalculable advantage to the administration. He resigned from the secretaryship and was appointed recorder of Philadelphia, and this office he likewise resigned in January, 1879. In the meantime, as chairman of the State committee, he conducted the successful campaign of 1878, which resulted in the election of Governor Hoyt, who appointed him secretary of the Commonwealth. He filled this position until October, 1882, when he resigned. In November, 1885, he was elected State treasurer by the largest majority given, up to that date, to a candidate for that office, resigning on August 24, 1887. On January 18, 1887, he was elected United States Senator for the term ending March 3, 1893, and reelected at the expiration of his term.

Near the close of the legislature of 1895 it developed that a strong combination had been formed for the purpose of contesting the leadership of Senator QUAY in the Republican party of the State. Composing the combination were the governor of Pennsylvania, the mayor of Philadelphia, and the then leaders of the Republican organization in Philadelphia, the Republican organization in Pittsburg, and many potent

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corporate influences throughout the State. An effort was made to capture the Republican State organization by controlling the convention of 1895. This was to be followed by the control of the State delegation to the national convention in 1896. It was late in June when the open rupture occurred. The combination announced that it would support Bank Commissioner B. F. Gilkeson for State chairman. Senator QUAY, in characteristic manner, joined issue and immediately announced himself for chairman of the State committee in opposition to Mr. Gilkeson. He took personal charge of the battle, which was waged until the convention in August, and when the convention met he had a safe majority of the delegates. The factional warfare continued with great bitterness until after the close of the legislature of 1901. In 1898 those who hoped to compass his defeat for reelection to the Senate with that end in view brought a prosecution on the charge of having conspired with other persons to use State funds for private purposes. After full trial he was acquitted. Before the conclusion of the trial the Pennsylvania legislature of 1899 had adjourned without accomplishing a Senatorial election.

Senator QUAY's second term in the Senate expired on March 3, 1899. The legislature of Pennsylvania met on the first Tuesday of January of the same year. In joint caucus several candidates were voted for, but Senator QUAY received 98 out of the 109 Republican votes present, and was unanimously declared the caucus nominee of the Republican party. The legislature proceeded to ballot for a United States Senator on the third Tuesday of January, 1899, and continued to ballot each day until the legislature adjourned on the 20th day of April, as required by a resolution of adjournment. None of the candidates received a majority of the votes cast, and no election resulted. On the first ballot taken in the joint

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assembly, QUAY, Republican, received 112 votes; Jenks, Democrat, 84; leaving scattering and absent, 52. On account of members and senators absent and not sworn in, it required 125 votes to make the majority necessary to elect. Seventy-nine ballots were taken when the legislature adjourned sine die, and on the following day, the legislature having adjourned and a vacancy in the office of United States Senator existing by reason of the failure of the legislature to elect, the governor of Pennsylvania, believing that the State was entitled to full representation in the Senate, appointed Mr. QUAY to fill the vacancy until the next meeting of the legislature. The validity of this appointment was called into question in the Senate and passed upon adversely by a majority of one.

The facts in the case and the questions involved are of too recent a character to require more than reference. The question at issue was purely one of constitutional interpretation, "Was this a legal appointment?" or, in other words, the question was, "Can a vacancy which is caused by the expiration of a Senatorial term, and which takes place during the session of the legislature, be filled by executive appointment?" The determination of the question depends entirely upon the construction of the brief and concise provisions in the Constitution regarding the appointment of United States Senators. The question has been exhaustively discussed upon several occasions in this Senate. It has often been affected by partisanship and by the peculiar exigencies of particular cases. In the mass of technical and subtle refinements and distinctions to which the simple words of the Constitution have been subjected, the meaning of these words, to a certain extent, seems to have become involved in obscurity and doubt; but the progressive, common-sense interpretation of the question has become more and more predominant in sustaining the validity of executive

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appointments to fill senatorial vacancies whenever a vacancy may occur.

The development of interpretation of the Constitution on this point is marked by the evolution out of contracted and illiberal construction of the clause. It was originally contended that the governor could not appoint to fill a vacancy happening at the beginning of a Senatorial term. The word "happen" was construed to mean a vacancy happening in a term after that very term had once been filled. This old and prevalent contention has been outgrown. Then it was contended that the limitation was such that no appointment could be made by a governor in anticipation of a vacancy. In other words, the governor of a State, undertaking to exercise the power of appointment, must wait until the vacancy actually happened. No matter how certain the vacancy might be, no matter how sure the governor might be that the vacancy would exist on a particular day, with no possibility of filling it by means of the legislature, nevertheless, he could not make the appointment, but must wait until the vacancy actually happened, and then make the appointment at the seat of government of his State, and let the place remain vacant until the appointee could reach Washington.

Then the limitation was set up, which was involved in the QUAY case, that the executive power could not be exerted where the legislature of the State had had an opportunity to fill the vacancy, and had failed from any cause to do it. Finally, a fourth limitation has been contended for, which, I believe, has never been passed upon by this body, but which should be relegated to the oblivion of the earlier contentions, that after the governor had once made an appointment his appointee could only hold his office until the next meeting of the legislature, and if the legislature failed to elect, the governor could not make a

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second appointment. The progress made in the precedents of the Senate in respect of the interpretation of the clause of the Constitution relating to the appointment and election of Senators is such as to warrant the belief that ultimately this body will come to the logical and consistent conclusion contended for in the QUAY case. The contest has been a long one against a spirit of narrowness, technicality, and interested partisanship. The interpretation of every word in the provisions of the Constitution concerning Senators has exhibited a progressive tendency toward liberality, in order that the evident purpose of the Constitution might be carried out, that the Senate should be kept filled. The contention made by those opposed to the seating of Senator QUAY, that a governor could not appoint when the legislature had had an opportunity to elect, or after having once appointed, that power is exhausted, are two of the last places left for those who, by a curious persistency, desire to hamper the full representation of States in this Senate. It is reasonable to believe that the ultimate decision of this body will be to complete the progressive constitutional interpretation, and will recognize the intention of the Constitution to create a Senate, and, as a consequence, to have that Senate filled, and to have the Senate filled by elections by legislatures for full terms, or remainder of terms, and by temporary appointments by governors where there are vacancies existing in the recess of the legislature.

The power of temporary appointment by the governor is as little capable of exhaustion as is the power of election on the part of the legislature. The governor can appoint as often as vacancies exist, just as the President can fill vacancies in the offices of the Government. The Constitution has provided two methods of equal authority under which the Senatorial office can under every circumstance be kept filled. The proposition that

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the Constitution provides for the election of Senators for a term, or for the remainder of a term, and for the temporary appointment of Senators in case of vacancies until the legislature meets, is simple and direct. On the other hand, any proposition which involves any limitations arbitrarily set up, based upon refinement and technicality, upon the right of the executive to appoint, involves the question in confusion and obscurity. More than this, it has been the chief reason why so many of these cases are valueless as precedents, because they have been open to the charge of having been decided upon partisan or factional lines. The moment we attempt to define and to restrict and to limit the executive power of temporary appointment to fill vacancies, we open the door for discrimination and distinction in each particular case. These cases of executive appointment will never be settled in this Senate until they are settled upon the plain, common-sense principle of recognizing the right of the State to be represented, the paramount purpose of the Constitution to keep the Senate full, and the power of the legislature and the governor, in their respective spheres, to contribute to that end. Until that is done these cases will always be involved in partisan and personal considerations. They will be subject to the same influences of party and personal motives as are found in the decisions of contested election cases in all parliamentary bodies.

In the case of Senator QUAY it could not be contended that the will of the people was not fairly expressed by the appointment of the governor of the State. The people of Pennsylvania sustained with increasing majorities the regular organization of the Republican party which was represented in the legislature of 1899 by the Republican caucus, which unanimously nominated Mr. QUAY for the Senate. In 1897 the Republican candidate for State treasurer, after a campaign

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in which the administration of the State treasury had been directly and vigorously attacked, received 372,448 votes, and the Democratic candidate 242,731, making the Republican candidate's plurality 129,717. The vote for the Democratic candidate and all other candidates for State treasurer opposed to the Republican candidate was 421,517, making a popular majority over the Republican candidate of 49,069. It will be observed that in this election of 1897, while the Republican candidate polled an enormous plurality, he failed to poll a majority of all the votes cast. In the following election, in November, 1898, the Republican candidate for governor received 476,206 votes, the Democratic candidate 358,300 votes, giving the Republican candidate a plurality of 117,906 votes. The vote for the Democratic candidate and all other candidates opposed to the Republican candidate for governor was 495,509 votes, making the popular majority against the Republican candidate, notwithstanding his enormous plurality, 19,303 votes. While the leading candidate failed to poll a majority of the whole vote, the majority against him of all candidates was actually 30,000 votes less than that for State treasurer in the preceding campaign. In the election of 1899, a State treasurer was elected. The Republican candidate ran upon a platform which contained an emphatic indorsement of Mr. QUAY, and declared that—

> Our State is entitled to full representation in the United States Senate, and we indorse the action of the governor in making his appointment to fill a vacancy caused by the failure of the last legislature to elect..

Upon the question of the adoption of the platform in the State convention containing this emphatic indorsement the vote had been 192 to 49, indicating a practical unanimity in the convention. The campaign involved the attacks upon the management of affairs by the Republican party, which had

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been vigorously made in the two preceding campaigns, and, in addition, the issue was squarely fought out upon this plank in the platform as to the indorsement of Mr. QUAY. The vote for the Republican candidate for State treasurer elected in November, 1899, was 438,000 votes. The vote for the Democratic candidate was 327,512, making the Republican candidate's plurality 110,488 votes. The vote for the Democratic candidate and all other candidates opposed to the Republican candidate was 342,488, thus giving the Republican candidate an actual majority of all the votes cast of 85,512 votes.

In the two preceding campaigns, with enormous pluralities, the candidates of the Republican party failed to poll an actual majority. Now, with the issue fairly made upon a candidate for State treasurer, with the added issue, made the leading feature of the campaign upon Mr. QUAY, and the plank in the platform of the Republican party indorsing his appointment, in an off year, with every opportunity for party dissatisfaction and reaction, after three years of agitation and unlimited opportunities for publicity, the final result was the polling of an enormous actual majority for the Republican party and an indorsement of the Republican platform with the plank indorsing the appointment by the governor. One of the most striking features of the results in the election following upon the adjournment of the legislature, is the fact that in the counties of Pennsylvania whence had come the bolting Republicans the candidate for State treasurer received enormous gains. Thus was demonstrated the fact that the governor of Pennsylvania, in making this appointment, having a due regard for his responsibility to the people of the State, was sustained by them, and that he acted in accord with the sentiment of the great majority of the people of the State.

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Senator QUAY was made chairman of the Republican National Committee without his consent and entirely without his knowledge. He was placed at the head of the committee because of his worth as a political general, although he had not been an original supporter of Harrison. In March, 1888, Mr. QUAY, after looking over the field, declared himself for Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, for the Presidential nomination; and he was supported by the Pennsylvania delegation, with but few exceptions. It was charged at the time by some of his opponents that he had risked his future upon the selection of Sherman; that he desired to be chairman of the national committee, and that he would win or lose by the decision of the Chicago convention. And yet it is very well known to those who were in his confidence that he had no desire whatever for that office. Speaking to a close personal friend in the spring of that convention year, he said:

It is a thankless task. If I should become chairman and lose the contest I would be criticised by my own party. On the other hand, should I win, I would be the object of villification by the Democrats. But beyond all that, man's ingratitude to man would assert itself. The Democrats would be so incensed that they would go to any extreme in their hostility, and there would be those in my own party who would join them. I do not want the office.

When we recall the unparalleled personal attack to which Senator QUAY was subject from the time of his assuming the duties of the chairmanship of the national committee until the time of his death, his words are prophetic. It is unnecessary at this time to recall the details of that great contest. It will be sufficient now to record the resolution passed by the members of the Republican National Committee relative to Mr. QUAY'S services, as follows:

Resolved, That we accept against our own judgment, and with much doubt as to the wisdom and expediency of it for the party's interest, the action of Senator QUAY in his resignation as chairman and member of the

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national committee. In submitting to it, with so much of reluctance and personal regret, we desire to express from our own knowledge of the facts of his preeminent service to the party our sense of the deep obligation under which he has placed the Republican party and the cause of good government and patriotism in the United States. He undertook the leadership of a doubtful contest at a time when the Republican party was disheartened and the Democratic party confident in the power of supreme control in the government and the nation, and when the odds of the contest were against our party, and by his matchless power, his unequaled skill in resources, and his genius to command victory won for his party an unprecedented victory in the face of expected defeat. We know, as no one else can know, that the contest which he waged was one of as much honor and fair methods as it was of invincible power and triumphant victory, and that it was won largely by the power of his superior generalship and his unfailing strength as a political leader. In the great contest of 1888, in the months of severe effort, and in the years of personal association with him since, we have learned to know the nobility of the man, and we desire in this conspicuous manner to place on public record for the present and for the future as an enduring answer to the partisan assaults of a defeated enemy, our testimony in appreciation of his public services and his personal worth.

One of Senator QUAY's great elements of strength in Pennsylvania was the support of the old soldiers of the Union Army, who, better than anyone else, recognized the true soldier with a gallant record as distinguished from the pretender. The brilliancy of his military record was admitted by all. When McClellan fought the battle of Antietam, Colonel QUAY's regiment was among the forces ordered to make forced marches to reenforce McClellan. After marching all night until nearly daybreak, he reached the rear of McClellan's army the day after the battle. An eyewitness of Colonel QUAY's gallantry at this time, Col. A. K. McClure, says:

QUAY, after marching all the night until nearly daybreak, reached the rear of McClellan's army the morning after the battle. I was on the battlefield during the conflict, and knew that these reinforcements were expected sometime during the night. Very early the next morning I started in search of QUAY, and found him just finishing his breakfast, after having had a nap of an hour or two, in fatigue uniform and boots. He confidently expected and earnestly hoped that the action would be renewed and that the men he had very carefully disciplined would receive

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their first baptism of fire. They were placed in position at the front, but the entire day passed without a single hostile shot, and that night Lee made his escape across the Potomac. He continued with his command until McClellan reached Warrenton, when Burnside was appointed to succeed him as commander of the Army of the Potomac. Just before Burnside made his movement toward Fredericksburg Governor Curtin had decided that QUAY must resign his commission as colonel, that was then within a few months of completion, as he commanded a nine months' regiment, to accept the very important office of military State agent at Washington.

The incumbent of that office had proved unsatisfactory, and as all the complaints and requests of the Pennsylvania soldiers relating to furloughs and other matters were personally attended to by the State agent, who had the entrée to all the Departments of the Government, Governor Curtin regarded it as one of the most important positions he had to fill. QUAY earnestly protested against being withdrawn from his command when it was the first time he had prospect of a battle, but Curtin was peremptory in requiring him to accept it as a matter of justice to our soldiers in the field. QUAY then forwarded his resignation, stating the reasons for doing it, and the governor wrote to the War Department explaining that he had great need for QUAY in another position and urging that his resignation be promptly accepted. Just when Burnside was approaching Fredericksburg QUAY received notice of the acceptance of his resignation and he was mustered out of service. Just then the paymaster came along and paid his regiment, and as QUAY was about to return to the State the men of his regiment committed to his care some $8,000 to take home to their families, and QUAY had the money in large denominations placed in a belt that he wore hidden around his person. A battle soon followed. QUAY was unwilling to leave, and he promptly volunteered to serve on the staff of General Tyler, whose command made the bloody and fruitless charge up Mary's Heights. Tyler's command was, "Officers in front of your men, charge," and QUAY was in the front line with the officers when that charge was made and advanced as far as the farthest in the desperate and utterly hopeless struggle to reach the enemy's position. In his anxiety to participate in the battle he had forgotten that he had on his person a large amount of money belonging to the families of his soldiers, which he undoubtedly would have lost had he fallen in the fight, as did nearly half of those who entered it with him. * * * For his participation in that charge he was awarded the medal of honor, and no one of the many brave men who were thus rewarded wore the medal more justly.

The tariff in Pennsylvania has always been the paramount issue. It has kept the State without faltering on a single occasion in the Republican column when national issues were

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involved. With her extensive domain and her boundless natural resources, Pennsylvania is preeminently the beneficiary of the protective-tariff system. Senator QUAY voiced the sentiment of the people of Pennsylvania in his speech at Phoenixville, on October 27, 1900, when he said:

> Pennsylvania is honest. Her people are honest. Her officials are honest. And of all this union of States, Pennsylvania is the fairest and the happiest and the most intelligent and the best governed. No State of all the Union has so thriven and grown in population and wealth as has she under the government of the last twenty-five years. Railroads, mines, furnaces, iron works, steel works, and factories in countless numbers have been added to our producers of wealth. Within four years, since 1896, 450,000 men have been added to the roll of paid labor in Pennsylvania. If this union of States were dissolved, Pennsylvania could stand alone and be a nation unto herself. Out of her own bowels she could spin the web of her prosperity. She could place in the field and clothe, equip, and subsist an army of one-quarter of a million of men. She could build at her own shipyards her own navy, plate her ships from her own armor plants, arm them with guns from her own gun factories, and send them out on the Atlantic and the Great Lakes. In her industries she could levy tribute on all her sister States and almost all foreign countries. I am proud there is not a drop of blood in my veins that is not Pennsylvania blood two centuries' old. I thank God I am a Pennsylvanian.

The Schenck tariff bill was passed in the Fifty-first Congress. One of its leading features was the levying of a duty of $28 per ton on steel rails, which duty built up our great steel-rail industry. The whole scope and intention of the tariff act of 1870 were most friendly to the American industries, and the consequences of this legislation were of immense value and of far-reaching importance. The tariff act of 1870 definitely fixed the revenue policy of the Republican party in time of peace on protectionist lines, and it was a strong bulwark of defense for the industries of Pennsylvania and of the country during the trying years following the panic of 1873. It was in force without material change for thirteen years—until 1883—when it was succeeded by the tariff act of that year, a measure of protection framed on the lines of the Schenck bill, but lacking in

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symmetry and bearing marks of haste on every page. In the meantime, however, there had been two important tariff debates in 1872 and 1873, and one vigorous attempt to repeal the whole legislation of 1870. The Wood tariff bill of 1878 gave the manufacturers of the country great anxiety, but after a long discussion it was defeated upon the motion of General Butler to strike out the enacting clause, the vote being 134 yeas to 121 nays, 19 Democrats voting to strike out. Hon. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was Speaker of the House at the time. A determined effort to reduce the steel-rail duty to $10 per ton was made in 1880, through the Covert bill, but this measure was beaten in the Ways and Means Committee. That was a critical time for our steel-rail industry.

Soon after the passage of the tariff act of 1883, a vigorous agitation was begun for its repeal. In 1884, Mr. Morrison introduced in the House his "horizontal reduction" tariff bill, which led to a long debate, resulting in the defeat of the bill upon the motion of Mr. Converse (Democrat) to strike out the enacting clause, Mr. Randall and 39 other Democrats voting with Mr. Converse. The House was Democratic by a large majority. The vote was 159 to strike out and 155 to sustain the bill. In November of that year Mr. Cleveland was elected to the Presidency. In his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1885, he recommended a general reduction of duties; and early in 1886, Mr. Morrison introduced another bill to revise and reduce the tariff. This bill was also defeated, the House, which was again Democratic by a large majority, refusing even to consider it, the vote being 140 yeas to 157 nays, Mr. Randall and 34 other Democrats voting to kill the bill. For this reason Mr. Cleveland never forgave Mr. Randall. In his next annual message, in December, 1886, Mr. Cleveland again recommended a

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reduction of duties, and in the same month Mr. Morrison again brought forward his tariff bill of the preceding long session, but Congress again refused to consider it, the vote being 149 yeas to 154 nays, Mr. Randall and 25 other Democrats voting in the negative. That was the virtual end of tariff agitation in that Congress.

But Mr. Cleveland adhered to his determination, and in his annual message, in December, 1887, he again recommended a reduction of duties. His message marked a more radical advance by Mr. Cleveland toward free trade than any of his previous utterances on the tariff question, and it alarmed the country. In January, 1888, Mr. Mills, of Texas, became the chairman of the new Ways and Means Committee, the House again being Democratic, and on March 1 he submitted his now famous tariff bill. Before a final vote upon its merits had been taken, Mr. Cleveland was nominated at St. Louis, in June, for a second term, upon a platform specifically indorsing the Mills bill. In the same month General Harrison was nominated in Chicago for the Presidency, upon a platform in which the Mills bill was indorsed by name. On July 21 the Mills bill passed the House by a vote of 162 yeas to 149 nays. Only four Democrats voted against it. Mr. Randall would also have recorded his vote against the bill if he had not been too ill to be in his seat. In behalf of the Republican majority in the Senate, a substitute for the Mills bill was prepared and submitted. Both bills were fully discussed in the Senate, on the stump, and in the newspapers during the remainder of the Presidential campaign. The Senate substitute passed this body on January 22, 1889, by a vote of 32 yeas to 30 nays. It was never considered by the House. The Mills bill was, however, dead. In the meantime Mr. Cleveland had been defeated for the Presidency

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by a close vote, the principal issue being the tariff question as expressed in the two bills referred to.

It was in this emergency, so fraught with important consequences to the industries of the country, that Senator QUAY first took up his active work in upholding our protective policy. Soon after the nomination of General Harrison, in June, 1888, Senator QUAY, who had entered the Senate in March, 1887, and whose reputation as a wise political manager had preceded him, was made chairman of the Republican National Committee. The task set for him was the election of General Harrison and a Republican House of Representatives. He accomplished both of these objects. The country rang with his praises. Everybody conceded that without his skillful leadership the battle for protection would have been lost, for New York, the pivotal State, was carried for Harrison by only about 13,000 plurality. If Mr. Cleveland and a Democratic House had been elected, the Mills bill would have been indorsed, and tariff agitation on free-trade lines would have continued. Mr. Cleveland had already practically destroyed the protectionist sentiment in his own party, and Randall was on his deathbed. But Harrison's election, under Senator QUAY'S leadership, put an end for four years to all free-trade hopes.

As a logical result of the Republican success in 1888, the House of Representatives, when it met in December, 1889, undertook the revision of the tariff of 1883 on the lines of the Senate substitute for the Mills bill. This revision subsequently became a law as the McKinley tariff bill. It passed the House on May 21, 1890, by a vote of 164 yeas to 142 nays. It passed the Senate on September 10 by a vote of 40 yeas to 29 nays.

The Senate had made many changes in the McKinley bill, some of these changes materially reducing duties, but in the

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conference committee most of the original McKinley rates were restored.

Of Senator QUAY'S services in this connection Mr. James M. Swank, of Philadelphia, editor and publisher of the Bulletin, a paper devoted to the American Iron and Steel Association, says:

> Both in the Senate and in the committee of conference Senator QUAY'S assistance was invaluable in securing the adoption of the rates of duty which were embraced in the McKinley bill as it passed the House. Apart from his lifelong devotion to the protective policy as it is understood in Pennsylvania, there was a special reason why Senator QUAY should object to the reductions in the McKinley bill which had been strangely proposed by his Republican colleagues in the Senate. As chairman of the Republican National Committee he had made the fight against Mr. Cleveland upon the basis of the Senate substitute for the Mills bill, and he had not forgotten the Republican party's promise to the country which was embodied in that substitute. His efforts to secure the retention of the original McKinley rates were in the main successful.

Senator QUAY'S part in securing the substitution of higher rates of duty for hundreds of the practically free-trade provisions of the Wilson tariff bill in 1894 is of too recent occurrence and is too well known to Senators to require more than a passing reference at this time.

The people of Pennsylvania, beyond those of any other State, realize how often the protective policy has been in peril during the past twenty-five years, even in the house of its friends. They, beyond all others, know how prosperity has followed the enactment of protective legislation; how disaster and depression have ensued from repeal or modification, and how uncertainty and loss have invariably followed even agitation for revision or change. The element of stability is as important in a protective tariff as is the adequacy of the schedules. Business can not be conducted prosperously where change in conditions is threatened. The people of Pennsylvania realize that the present system of protection to American industries embodied in the

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Dingley bill is the successful result of long and often doubtful struggles.

This policy has been maintained throughout this long period only by the hard and unselfish work of a few devoted friends in both branches of Congress. Pennsylvania has good reason to remember with gratitude its faithful sons who have fought many hard battles that its industries might be saved from destroying hands. On more than one occasion the personal efforts of Kelley and Randall and QUAY have saved the industries of Pennsylvania.

While Senator QUAY was not generally recognized as a great public speaker, yet he demonstrated in his last campaign for the Senate that he possessed the qualities of real eloquence. He was a classic scholar, and when occasion demanded it he gave utterance to some of the best thought that has ever been spoken by Pennsylvania statesmen. He possessed one of the finest working libraries in the United States, and he was familiar with nearly every volume in it. It abounded most in works of history, and was especially rich in Americana, while including all the standard works of history and philosophy relating to the development of modern Europe. He was a student of military campaigns, and possessed many books and much knowledge relating to Napoleon. Of American history, not only in its military stages, but in its social and political development from the very earliest colonial times, he always was an ardent and appreciative student. In fact, it is doubtful whether there is anyone, even among those who have devoted their lives to a study of the subject, who were more intimately acquainted with the details of American history than he. He was not especially fond of poetry, although in that branch of literature he was widely read. He had great admiration for the works of Sir Walter Scott, and of Whittier and of

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Longfellow. Of the classic poets he admired Horace the most, and was ever ready to take up the works of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare. His religious beliefs seem to have been with him matters of deep, settled conviction, and he does not appear to have cared much for works of scientific or philosophical character.

Mr. QUAY'S efforts in behalf of statehood for the Territories are too recent to require more than reference in this body. Notwithstanding the fact that he represented, in part, the second State of this Union in point of population, he entertained no apprehensions in his willingness to concede to these Territories equal representation with Pennsylvania in this body. He recognized the just demands of the inhabitants of these growing sections, many of whom were Pennsylvania people with large and growing interests in the Territories. He had an abiding confidence in the future of the Territories, and believed that with their magnificent climatic conditions and their almost unknown and unrealized natural resources, they possessed within themselves the splendid possibilities of becoming great Commonwealths, and were at the present time fully fitted to take their places in the American Union.

Mr. QUAY took great pride in the fact that in his ancestry he counted Indian blood. In his later years his Indian ancestry was a matter of much investigation and interest with him. His ancestor, John Quay, it appears, came from the Isle of Man and located in Canada, where he married an Indian woman. He had a son, John Quay, jr., who also married an Indian woman. Senator QUAY was the fifth generation from this marriage. As a result of his investigations and interest in his own Indian ancestry he came to take a great interest in the welfare of the Indians, and he was to them a valued friend. The Indians residing in the Indian Territory, and especially the

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remnants of the once mighty and powerful tribe of Delawares, appreciate his many benevolent acts and will ever cherish his memory.

The unfortunate experiences of the Delawares with the whites excited in Mr. QUAY a lively sympathy. Familiar as he was with colonial and Indian history, he felt that in most of their dealings with the whites these people had been cheated. They lived near Philadelphia, and with them Mr. Thomas Penn made his famous "walking purchase." A witness was produced to say that forty years before he had seen a treaty providing that the Delawares should give the English all the land measured from a base line running up the Delaware River as far as a man could walk in a day. The Delawares held a council and finally agreed with the whites that they would fulfill this treaty which it was claimed they had executed. When the day came for the execution of the treaty the whites had blazed the trail up the Delaware River, but instead of following the course of the river they struck a bee line inside of the river from one bend to another, and put men on horseback to help out their walkers, who turned out to be the fastest runners of the neighborhood, and so acquired about $6,000,000 worth of land from the Indians. The next year the whites called in the Iroquois. They were the overlords, and the whites and the Iroquois combined. The Delawares could not resist. They were ordered off. They went, not as a tribe, but as families, and night after night in the woods the little flames were seen, and in the morning the houses and homes of the Delawares were found in ashes, and the families were gone. The men took their guns and the women their babies and ponies, and they left for the West. Family after family disappeared forever from their old haunts into the gorges of the Alleghenies. They went to Ohio and took part against the whites, and during the French and

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Indian war they were the most relentless and savage enemies we had.

During the Revolution this special band, which is now in the Cherokee Nation, took the part of the United States. They first settled on the Muskingum. Their lands were bought from them there and they were told to move on, and they moved on to White River, Indiana. Their lands were wanted there. They were crowded, and their advance parties then crossed to the regions which are beyond the Mississippi, which were under Spanish domination. The Spanish enlisted them in their service to fight the Osage and the Missouria Indians, and gave them a large tract of land below St. Louis, near Carondelet. The United States acquired Missouri and the Northwest Territory, and these Indians then moved on to Kansas. They served in the Seminole war, in the Mexican war, and in the war of the rebellion. In the war from 1861 to 1865 every Delaware able to bear arms served in the Union Army. They subsequently sold their lands, passed through Kansas, and became Cherokee, and they are now in the Cherokee Nation. The romantic story of the migration of the once powerful Delawares across the continent appealed strongly to Mr. QUAY, and he became their champion.

In the winter of 1897–98, when negotiations were attempted between the Dawes Commission and the Cherokees, an effort was made to deprive the Delawares of much of the land which they thought they had purchased, and which they had paid for in cash, under their agreement of 1867 with the Cherokees. An effort was made to determine their rights, and at least to secure the opportunity of trying them in the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court. They were without money and without friends at home and in Washington, and their condition was pitiful. After seeking the assistance of many

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public men they finally appealed to Senator QUAY for aid. He listened attentively to their story and then informed the representatives of the Indians that he was greatly interested in their case as his ancestors many generations before were of Indian blood. He stated to them that John Quay, an ancestor, had married an Indian girl of the Abenakas tribe, known as Wa Pa Nachki, a member of the eastern branch of the Delawares. From that time Mr. Quay continued a consistent, loyal, and true friend of the Indians. He championed their cause before Congress and before the Departments, and secured just recognition, which could never have been obtained without his assistance. As a result of his efforts, in the case of the Delaware Indians, they secured the following property rights, without which they would have been reduced to poverty and almost have become objects of charity: The right to take their allotments where they had lived and where their homes had been in the rich valleys of the Cherokee Nation, instead of in the flint hills many miles distant on barren soil; the right to institute suits in the Court of Claims in order to adjudicate judicially their claims against the Government; the appropriation of $150,000 by Congress in full settlement of all their claims against the United States; lastly, the right of the members of the tribe to dispose of their improvements upon surplus lands.

Not only was Mr. QUAY the special friend of the Delawares, but he was also the friend of many other tribes. He rendered valuable assistance to the Sioux, the New York Indians, the Seminoles of Florida, the Nez Perces, and many others. His generosity is well known, and instances could be recounted almost without number where he gave pecuniary aid to members of tribes visiting Washington, his generous acts never, however, being mentioned by him. During a visit to Canada

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he caused to be constructed a chapel at the little Indian village called Pierreville Yanaishi, Quebec, Canada, as an evidence of his friendship for the eastern Delawares and of his ancestral relationship with that locality.

In November, 1903, he gratified a desire he had often expressed, to visit the Delaware people and attend their annual thanksgiving dance at Dewey, and was greatly impressed with their ceremonies. On this occasion Mr. QUAY, who was recognized by the Delawares as an Indian, was elected war chief of the tribe, and as such he will ever be known by that people.

In speaking of his visit on his return from the Indian Territory, Senator QUAY said that he had been through the war and had experienced many solemn occasions, and nothing had ever impressed him as being as solemn and sincere as the actions of the Delaware Indians at this dance, and that he felt as proud of the honors conferred upon him by the Delaware Indians as any office of honor he had ever held, and that this office was bestowed upon him with sincerity and love, and without any effort or solicitation on his part.

Regarding the calumny and detraction frequently leveled against him, as well as the Republican party, he gave characteristic expression on several occasions. In his Phoenixville speech he said of those possessed with such a distorted vision of public affairs:

> It originated in the political miseries and personal malice of disappointed men formerly members of the Republican party. The Democracy, hopeless of unaided success and utterly forgetful of the resulting demoralization to its organization, took them to its bosom, warmed their sickly vitality, and set them to work in its vineyard.
>
> I have large charity for disappointed ambition—
>
> "The blood will follow where the knife is driven,
> The flesh will quiver when the pincers tear,"
>
> and the wounds but half heal, and sometimes gangrene. Then the blood is poisoned and the senses are numbed, and to the victim all nature seems

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changed. He looks at the world through smoked glass. He has evil dreams, and talks in his sleep. Hope deferred becomes hopelessness. He assumes a monkish austerity, announces himself as a man with a mission, purified in the crucible of adversity, with a God-given errand to inform the people of the evils from which they are ignorantly suffering and lead them to redress. Year after year, in instance after instance, this history repeats itself.

Further on in the same speech Mr. QUAY said:

No patriotic citizen of any party can have any sympathy with that hypocrisy which finds it necessary for its own preference to smirch the fair fame of his State, nor with the malignity which can find in political conditions only rottenness on which to feed and over which to croak.

In the same connection Senator QUAY said, in a speech delivered at Lewisburg in the same campaign:

You can always measure the honesty and sincerity of a man by the assiduity with which he goes about the world traducing the honesty and sincerity of his fellow-men. * * * These are the men who make reform impossible. Reform is as natural as human progress, and the terms are synonymous, but when false apostles of reform erect altars where knaves minister and fools kneel, as in Pennsylvania at present, progress and reform are alike retarded.

Again, in his speech at Altoona, he said:

Reform is a catching cry. It cozens alike babes, sucklings, and grown men. It is human to err and human to believe our fellow-men erring, and ourselves their God-appointed critics and guardians. Also, it is solacing to self-love and vanity to proclaim the shortcomings of the world, for this is in a manner an assertion of our superiority to common humanity and a parade of our perfection. We say to our fellows: "Behold, I am holier than thou."

It is natural that there should be a desire for a monopoly of self-glorification, and, therefore, not surprising that I should be assailed for insincerity when in a mild way I make mention of measures that occur to me for the public good. I regret to interfere with the business of the professional reformers, and apologize.

He deprecated the fashion existing in many quarters to decry the malfeasance and abuses alleged to exist in Pennsylvania, and he had a just pride in the splendid record of the State in the legislation of which he had been a guiding and an active participant for so many years.

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Pennsylvania has always been preeminent in its provision for public education. The public school system was established early in the history of the State under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, and the State has with every year made increasing provision for the support and the betterment of public education. The constitution of the State requires that a minimum amount of $1,000,000 shall be annually appropriated for the support of the common schools. For many years this has been greatly exceeded, until at the present time the State of Pennsylvania appropriates more money for the support of the common schools, orphans' schools, the normal schools, the county superintendents, and the department of public instruction, or, in other words, for educational purposes, than any other State in the Union in the actual amount, and a much larger percentage of the total revenue than any other State, over 41 per cent of the total revenues of the State of Pennsylvania being devoted to educational purposes.

The tax system of Pennsylvania is looked upon by students of taxation and political economy as being a model system of State taxation. As the result of continued agitation in the State on the part of tax reformers and the various associations of grangers and other agricultural bodies, there has resulted legislative enactments which, with the judicial decisions which have settled their disputed points, extending over several years, have finally come to constitute a remarkable and highly satisfactory system of taxation and revenue. The burdens of State taxation have been entirely lifted from the shoulders of the individual and placed upon the corporations of the Commonwealth. There is a complete exemption of real estate from taxation for State purposes, and the individual citizen in Pennsylvania is not called upon to contribute one penny to the support of the State government by any form of direct taxation, with the

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exception of the insignificant part, 2 per cent, of the State revenues raised by tax on money at interest. Moreover, a considerable part, nearly 90 per cent, of the taxes collected by the State are returned to the counties for local purposes, in order to relieve local taxation, so that there is not a single county in Pennsylvania save one—the county of Philadelphia—which does not get directly from the State treasury more money than the State collects from all its citizens by direct taxation, from all sources, and there are only two counties in the State—Allegheny and Philadelphia—which do not get back from the State treasury for common school purposes alone more money than their citizens pay into the State treasury. The largest excess of money repaid to counties goes naturally to the least wealthy counties, having the smallest proportion of property subject to State tax in relation to their population. The effect of this system is, of course, to lessen the burden of local taxation in the counties the people of which are least able to bear such burdens. In other words, under the State tax laws enacted in Pennsylvania the corporations pay the entire expenses of carrying on the State government, and pay a very large amount in addition into the State treasury, which is returned to the counties for the sake of lightening local taxation. No financial institution in this or any other country can show as good a record in the handling of vast sums of money as the treasury of the State of Pennsylvania. In the history of the management of the State finances the remarkable fact is exhibited that not one dollar has ever been lost to the State as the result of malfeasance in office, and not one penny has ever been lost for any other cause unless, perhaps, we except a small item of about $9,000, which, in 1840, became involved in litigation as the result of the failure of a bank depository designated by act of assembly. Since 1873 over $25,000,000 of the

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State debt have been paid off, and, with the securities now in the sinking fund, the State of Pennsylvania is practically free of debt.

Senator QUAY said in his Phoenixville speech:

> In Pottstown the other night the slogan was "good government." Pennsylvania was declared a misgoverned State and a debauched and plundered State. Good government is to take taxes from the shoulders of the ill-paid agricultural interests and place it upon corporations and owners of stocks and moneys at interest. Good government is to increase the annual school appropriation within ten years from one million to five millions, and to stud our Commonwealth with institutions of learning. Good government is to pay a debt of forty millions of dollars in thirty years without oppressing our people, and, at the same time, to spend millions in the care of our criminal and insane populations, soldiers, orphans, schools and universities, and general public charities. Good government is to erect a citizen soldiery which can be thrown to any point in the Commonwealth to sustain outraged law at twenty-four hours' notice, and which can furnish 15,000 bayonets for the United States service on call.

Mr. QUAY was married in 1855 to Agnes Barclay, daughter of John Barclay, by his wife Elizabeth Shanner, her parents being native Pennsylvanians of Scotch-Irish extraction. He was survived by five children by this marriage. His home and his family called out his strongest affections. He possessed the loyal love of his children and received from his wife heroic devotion.

In a speech at Altoona Senator QUAY voiced his feelings during the last two years of his life when he said:

> It is a long time since I was first here, and many of your grand men I have known since then have gone to the land from which no traveler returns. * * * They have passed away, and among their successors I feel like a dying oak among healthy saplings.

Mr. QUAY said of himself in an address to the State League of Republican Clubs, delivered May 14, 1901:

> At three score years and ten the world grows lonely. Through wildernesses, almost desolate, the stream of life glides darkly toward the eternal gulf. The associations of early existence are gone. Its objects are gained

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or lost, or faded in importance, and there is a disconnection with ideas once clamped about the reason, and dissolution of feelings once melting the heart. Occasions like the present stand in pleasant relief—green patches on a sandy delta—and are especially attractive and welcome. Fully recognizing that your tribute is not personal, but attaches to the high office with which the Republicans of Pennsylvania have honored me, I thank you.

My political race is run. It is not to be understood that God's sword is drawn immediately against my life or that my seat in the Senate is to be prematurely vacated, but that with the subscription of my official oath on the 18th of January my connection with the serious labors and responsibilities of active politics ceased, except in so far as I may be committed to certain measures pending in the present legislature.

I will never again be a candidate for or accept any official position. I have many friends to remember; I have no enemies to punish. In this regard I put aside the past.

His illness began about a year before his death. For a time he seemed to improve, and gave much of his time to outdoor exercise. Never a strong man physically, he prided himself on his endurance and believed that outdoor life would restore him to health and give him years of life. He began to lose flesh gradually, his stomach refused to assimilate food, and increasing weakness followed. He gradually came to expect death, and although he entertained the hope that he might possibly recover, no relief came, and the sapping of his vitallty continued. He at last removed to his home in Beaver, which he never again left. He showed great stoicism in his last illness. Coolly and firmly he took leave of earthly things. On the Thursday before his death he asked to be taken to his famous library, remarking to his attendants. "I want to see my books once more before I die."

His mind remained bright and active to the last. Of his political contests he said that he had nothing to regret, and that he did not think he would have fought them over again on any different lines of battle. He joked grimly at times, and was always cheerful in his conversation.

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He directed that the pallbearers at his funeral should only consist of those who had had peculiar, intimate, personal association with him, and that no one should be invited merely on account of prominence or wealth. Almost the last request he made before his death was that there should be placed upon his tomb the inscription, "Implora Pacem" (pray for peace).

The serenity with which he met his death was the best refutation of the calumny he encountered through life.

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ADDRESS OF MR. SCOTT, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: The six years of a Senator's term in this body are made up of many days. But how few and short this time appears on such an occasion as this. Fighting for his right to a seat in this Senate, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was one of the first to greet me and bid me welcome when my State honored me by sending me here. It was the renewal of a friendship begun years before, and the warm greeting was especially gratifying then. Now, after only a few brief years, I must add my word of tribute to his memory.

With the passing on of Senator QUAY there departed from scenes of earthly activity a great political leader, a scholar, a soldier, and a statesman. For nearly half a century he had been before the public, and this period, beginning with the war of the rebellion, has been full to the brim with great events. He early mingled with men who became famous in the nation's history. His career kept him in touch with them, and his influence grew until it extended beyond the lines of his own State. He was modest and retiring; cared nothing for popular applause, and seldom spoke on the floor of the Senate. A man of more than ordinary ability, silent but determined, he was a leader of men and a director of public opinion.

Well do I remember my first intimate acquaintance with him. It was during the campaign of 1888, when, as the first Administration of President Cleveland was drawing to a close, the Republican party was striving to elect General Harrison, of Indiana. Still staggering from the first defeat in thirty years, the party was not in the best possible condition to win. The members of the national committee had met; the executive

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committee to handle the affairs of the campaign had been chosen, and Mr. QUAY was in the saddle. Silent, but cautious; alert and active, but above all full of confidence, he soon had us all eager and anxious for the fray. The result of that campaign is known to all men, and it was in these months of close confidence that I learned to appreciate and admire his genius for leading and directing. Again, in 1896, I was even more intimately associated than before with him in our effort to elect William McKinley. He spent a large portion of the time of that campaign with us at headquarters in New York, and my feelings of respect and admiration were only increased by this association. Then came his welcome to me to the Senate and my close friendship with him since.

Other friends will go more especially into the details of his life; friends who were more intimately associated with him during the days of his tribulations and his success. But the life of a great man, of a public character, is an example to his fellow-citizens, and I will be pardoned if I refer briefly to his early surroundings in order to show the elements which made him great.

A Pennsylvanian by birth, Mr. QUAY boasted of the fact that Pennsylvanian blood two centuries old ran in his veins. A grandfather, as a young man, fought in the war of the Revolution and was still young enough to shoulder a musket in the war of 1812. The son of a Presbyterian minister, he was reared surrounded by influences which undoubtedly made him what he was. The life of a minister in the early part of the last century was not one of ease and luxury. After an education had been given the children, the fathers and mothers of those days had usually done all that could be done for their families. But the influence of his home, and of his mother especially, was impressed upon his character perhaps more forcibly than is

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usual under such circumstances. Trained to self-reliance from his childhood, after leaving college at the age of 17 the lust of wandering was in his blood, and had it not been for the influence of his mother his future career might have been most radically changed. It was owing to her advice that, after a brief period passed in Texas and Louisiana, he came home to Beaver, Pa., and there began the political life which was to last half a century.

It is very remarkable that, even at the early age of 21, he had such a hold on the affections of his neighbors that he could be elected to one of the best offices in the gift of his county. This quality of holding friends remained with him through all his life, and there was scarcely a time when he aspired to an office or a position that he was not able to succeed. Once I asked him the secret of his success; how it was that he was able to retain so large a following of people in his own State for so many years. His reply was that when he first started in political life he made it a rule to be as truthful and straightforward in a political transaction as in a business affair; that he never made a promise he did not feel he would be able to carry out; and having once made it, he bent his whole energies to keep his word and remain true to his friends. To the strict observance of this rule he attributed all his success.

But Mr. QUAY was born and came to early manhood when opportunities were ripe for those who sought them. Four years' wandering in the South had given him an insight into the Southern view of the political question which was then agitating and bade fair to divide the country. The trained mind of the young student saw most clearly the outcome, and when the war came he was fully prepared and could look ahead and see that the end was far in the future. He knew it was no holiday period, but was to be a bitter and a stubborn conflict.

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Unexceptionally equipped in this way he threw all his energies into the election of the famous "war governor" of Pennsylvania, in the days of Lincoln, Douglas, and Breckinridge, and, as a result, when the rupture came he was in a position to accept any responsibility that his ambition might demand. That his ambition was a worthy one and gloriously fulfilled is a matter of history. As a young lieutenant, as a colonel, as military secretary to the governor of his State, as military agent for his State at the nation's capital, he performed most valiant service to the Union. Physically weak then, as he always was through his life, he yet possessed a soul full of courage and daring. At the battle of Fredericksburg he insisted on serving as a volunteer, when just before this date he had resigned from the command of his regiment and been ordered home on account of illness. The surgeons told him that it meant death, and his only reply was that he preferred death on the battlefield to life as a coward. This is only one instance of the indomitable spirit of the man, always aiming for high attainments, and in this case, as in others, the reward was equal to his deserts, for Congress presented him with a medal of honor. With four years of such service, with four years of such courage, with four years of such experience, it is not to be wondered that the coming of peace found him one of the best equipped and one of the most promising young men of the great Keystone State.

Reared in the atmosphere of a minister's home of the early thirties or forties of the nineteenth century, under the old doctrine that "children should be seen but not heard;" with a further experience in the greatest war of modern times, where he was trained to obey orders without asking questions, it is not strange that he began his renewed political life thoroughly imbued with the absolute necessity of saying as few words as possible.

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He was known as "The Silent Leader," and as such he lived through his life of usefulness to the end. Delegations of admiring friends, political leaders from all over the country, and newspaper men might all visit him and strive to find out his details of campaign, but all were unsuccessful. "In the solitude of his own originality" he mapped out his plans of battle and carried them to successful issue. Yet in affairs of State he fought in the open, and it was not necessary for those who sought to know his position on matters of public policy to hunt him with a dark lantern. On these subjects he was always open and frank.

That a man of such positive character should have many friends and many enemies goes almost without the saying. His friends were the kind who would follow him to the death. His enemies and traducers were many. The calumnies that were heaped upon him by them were numerous and bitter. But through it all he lived to prove that his character could not be tarnished or affected by false accusations. Such a life, such a character, such achievements were the result of the conditions by which he was surrounded, and of the atmosphere of his early home. America only can produce such men.

To-day we turn aside from the usual busy routine of life to speak of him, our colleague, who only a brief year ago sat here in this Chamber lending us the aid of his wisdom and splendid intellect. We miss him for these qualities, but, above all, his friends miss him for his lovable personality. He is not forgotten by those of us who knew him and who loved him. True to his friends, they who knew him best mourn him most, and with pleasant memories bid him, not "good-by," but "good night." His life, like the lives of all great men, has left behind it "footprints on the sands of time" which will not soon be erased.

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Address of Mr. Gallinger, of New Hampshire.

Mr. President: There is a popular impression that because the Senate of the United States is a continuing body the changes in its membership are few and at long intervals, but such is not the case; indeed, the changes are so frequent as to startle one when the fact is contemplated. At the end of a little less than fourteen years of membership in this body I find myself the fifteenth Senator in length of continuous service, and on the 4th day of next March three of those who are now my seniors will retire. Death has done its full part in accomplishing this result. During that time twenty-two Senators have died in service, they being Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas; John S. Barbour, of Virginia; Randall L. Gibson, of Louisiana; John E. Kenna, of West Virginia; Leland Stanford, of California; Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia; Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina; Francis B. Stockbridge, of Michigan; Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee; James Z. George, of Mississippi; Joseph H. Earle, of South Carolina; Edward C. Walthall, of Mississippi; Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont; Monroe L. Hayward, of Nebraska; John H. Gear, of Iowa; Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; James H. Kyle, of South Dakota; William J. Sewell, of New Jersey; James McMillan, of Michigan; Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio; Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania; and George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts. In addition, twenty-five Senators with whom I have served have died since retiring from the Senate, included in the list being such men as John Sherman, of Ohio; Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana; John M. Palmer, of Illinois; Stephen M. White, of California; John B. Gordon, of

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Georgia; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; George G. Vest, of Missouri; Joseph N. Dolph, of Oregon; Richard Coke, of Texas; and Philetus Sawyer, of Wisconsin. Truly, the angel of death has been busy in our midst during those years, admonishing us of the fact that man's days are numbered, and that, as the Scriptures express it, "They are passed away as the swift ships: as the eagle that hasteth to the prey."

When I first came to the Senate it was my privilege to be assigned to a committee of which MATTHEW S. QUAY was a member, and in that way I came to know and to admire the man. As the years passed our friendship ripened, and I learned to regard him as an able, scholarly gentleman, devoted to the service of his State and country. He was industrious and methodical, always keeping well in hand the multitudinous duties that come to a Senator from a great State like Pennsylvania. It has been said that fidelity in small things is at the base of every great achievement, and it seemed to me that this accounted in a great degree for Senator QUAY'S success. He knew the people of his State, and kept in close touch with all classes. Their requests were promptly and cheerfully complied with, nothing being too trivial for consideration on his part, and in return he had the confidence and trust of the great mass of his constituents. He looked carefully after details, and in an unostentatious way did thousands of little kindnesses that the world knew not of. He exemplified the truth of Wordsworth's words—

> That best portion of a good man's life—
> His little, nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love.

Such was the man as I knew him. True, he was a politician, and his life was a stormy and eventful one. In his long

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public career he encountered the hostility of powerful influences, and his enemies sought to destroy him by every means in their power. But amid it all he was calm, patient, and determined, serene in the knowledge that the people of his State supported and indorsed him. In due time the bitter and unrelenting opposition to Senator QUAY became powerful enough to prevent his reelection to the Senate, notwithstanding the legislature was strongly Republican and he was the choice of a large majority of his party. The struggle was a notable one, resulting in his defeat and leaving a vacancy in the Senate. Senator QUAY was appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy, and the contest was transferred to this body, where there was a wide difference of opinion as to the constitutional right of the governor to appoint under the circumstances. It early became apparent that the vote would be close, but knowing that I had in former cases taken strong ground against the right of appointment under similar conditions Senator QUAY did not solicit my support, and I spoke and voted against him. My vote would have given him the seat, and naturally I suspected that he might show some resentment. Subsequently he was elected, and when he took his seat he found occasion to say that holding the opinions I did my action was entirely consistent and proper, and that he could find no fault whatever with it. That was characteristic of the man, and the incident strengthened my affection for him.

Senator QUAY was a scholar and a student. He had a choice library, and his books were his constant companions. His knowledge was broad and comprehensive, his ideas well matured, and his conclusions on important matters worked out with a care and precision that made his advocacy of any cause quite potential. We all remember, in the last Congress, at a

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time when a fatal disease was doing its deadly work, how earnestly he labored for the passage of the statehood bill and how philosophically he accepted defeat when it became evident that a vote could not be secured. I know that it was a grievous disappointment to him, but he had fully learned the lesson of bowing to the inevitable, and he accepted the result without fault-finding or bitterness.

Senator QUAY had a kind heart, and his sympathies went out to the poor and afflicted of earth. His interest in the Indian tribes of the country was sublime. One of the last services he performed in the Senate was to make a touching and powerful appeal in support of some matter of legislation that affected the interests of certain Indians. His intimate knowledge of the legislation of Congress regarding the Indian tribes enabled him to speak with authority, and his appeals in their behalf were rarely ever in vain.

Senator QUAY was a modest man. He never boasted of his achievements. A brave and distinguished soldier, he rarely ever mentioned the fact that he had served in the Army. The idol of his State, he bore his honors with becoming humility. Perhaps the greatest political general of his day, he seldom, if ever, alluded to his triumphs in the field of practical politics. Quiet, retiring, and undemonstrative, he did his daily work without the noise and bluster that smaller men sometimes employ to attract attention to their importance. Thus he lived and thus he died, true to his convictions and true to his friends—a man of indomitable will, of resolute purpose, and of tremendous force of character. He did not escape calumny and invective, but amid all the storms of abuse and villification that burst upon him he marched quietly on, conscious of the fact that the people of his State would uphold and vindicate him, as they never failed to do. Perfect he was not, and

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perfection he did not claim, but those of us who knew him well estimated him at his true worth, and were proud of his friendship.

Mr. President, the chances are that no man in our whole public life was ever so abused as was Senator QUAY, a portion of the public press following him, with bitter denunciation, to his grave, even disturbing the fresh covering of his last resting place. Forgetting the philosophy of Elbert Hubbard, that "if love is life and hate is death, how can spite benefit?" every slander that had been uttered against him was revived and amplified after his life had ebbed away. Ignoring the fact that—

> No man can save his brother's soul,
> Nor pay his brother's debt,

and forgetting the teachings of Him who, in His own life, illustrated the blessed doctrine of love and forgiveness, he was pursued to his grave with a vindictiveness and bitterness seldom paralleled in our history. But, notwithstanding that, the people of his State and the men with whom he served in this body will not soon forget his virtues nor fail to give honor to his memory.

Senator QUAY knew and experienced a full modicum of the labors and anxieties that come to all men in public life who faithfully look after the interests of their constituents. He was literally worn-out in the public service, and when his strength failed and his eyes grew dim it could well be said of him:

> Gone past the fret and fever of life;
> All his songs have been sung,
> And his words have been said;
> And if bitterness lived in his soul once, or strife,
> They now are dead.

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ADDRESS OF MR. MCLAURIN, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Between the two dates of birth and death the history of the man is made. Every man has the making of, and makes, his own history. How that life's history is written is usually left to others. It is not only fitting, therefore, but it is due that those cognizant of the things which give the character of the man should bear testimony to such things when he has departed. Hence the appropriateness of this memorial day to commemorate the traits of character that endeared Senator MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY to his friends, and the deeds and words that made him famous. I venture only a few words of mine to this pleasant, while sad, duty.

I met Senator QUAY first in February, 1894, either on the day I first entered the Senate, February 15, 1894, or a few days thereafter. I thought I knew him before I ever met him. After meeting him I found that I had been correct in that opinion. I had entertained of him the opinion that he was a man of unfaltering loyalty to his friends and unwavering fidelity to friendship. Upon meeting and knowing him I found that this opinion was true. That admirable trait of character was broadened by another—that he never forgot or forfeited his obligation. If he promised, his performance was sure. No one who knew him wanted any further assurance. "His word was his bond." No bond could make it surer.

Senator QUAY at one time resided in the State of Mississippi, the State of my nativity, and of which I have been all my life a citizen. Just after his graduation at college he visited in Mississippi the home of his college mate, classmate, and chum. This was before the war, when the people of Mississippi were

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among the wealthiest of the land. His host was a wealthy man and insisted that Mr. QUAY should remain his guest while teaching school in the neighborhood, which he did for several years. He was invited to make the home of his classmate and chum his own home, and enjoyed its hospitalities during his residence in the State of Mississippi.

Before the war he returned to his native State, Pennsylvania, and engaged on the northern side in that struggle. After the war was over and his Mississippi friends had become impoverished by its results, he sought them out to ascertain their financial condition, and when he himself reached a position where he could aid them in securing positions of employment from which they could earn a livelihood he did so, and thus earned the gratitude of a large number of the people of Mississippi.

His friendship was so warm and his loyalty to friends so strong that on one occasion he threatened to break with the leader of his party unless he should appoint the widow of the man, although of different politics from himself, who had befriended him in Mississippi, to a position from which she could earn a livelihood. I recur to these incidents to give you some idea of the character of Senator QUAY.

Senator QUAY was an unpretentious man, unostentatious, a man of great thinking power and of great will power, a man who gave close attention to the details of every business which he had in hand.

I have observed him in his place in the Senate sitting for what seemed hours scarcely changing his posture, apparently in deep thought over some problem of politics or state. In this respect he and Senator Vest, who was his close personal friend, very much reminded me of each other.

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Senator QUAY did not speak often or much in the Senate, but what he said was clear and to the point. When he did speak, he usually spoke for immediate and substantial effect. He did not essay to be a leader of his party, but leadership of his party essayed to be QUAY. His last effort in the Senate was to procure the passage of an act to admit the four existing Territories into the Union as four separate States on an equal footing with the States now composing the Union. His heart was set upon the accomplishment of this work, and by common and tacit consent he was accepted as leader in this movement by Senators who shared in this desire. His work was characteristic of him. He went directly at it; and though his health was weak and failing he never faltered. His superb leadership in this effort was recognized by his coadjutors and opponents, and he needed but an opportunity to vote on the measure to achieve success, an opportunity which the shortness of the session thwarted.

Senator QUAY was gentle to his friends and courteous to all.

I will not consume more of the time of this memorial service. I did not rise to make a speech, but, as Senator QUAY was my friend, I embraced this occasion to record my testimony to his merits and my sorrow at his death.

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Address of Mr. Hansbrough, of North Dakota.

Mr. President: In a most interesting and carefully prepared biography occurred the following concise paragraph, showing the pronounced mental qualities in the late Senator Quay:

> In Beaver they say of Matthew Stanley Quay that his chief characteristic was will power; the second, infinite patience and genius for details; the third, a great power to compromise differences in his party; the fourth, to keep his word; the fifth, to be silent and study his books—when there was nothing else to do, for he was a great reader of books. His home in Beaver was that of the student and scholar.

Here, Mr. President, we have in a terse form the distinguishing traits in the life of a man born to lead—the characteristics which lie at the very bottom of practical statesmanship, for it was in leadership and statecraft that he excelled. Against the results which he accomplished along these parallel lines of conspicuous talents the detractions contrived by acrimonious critics, the false accusations concocted by jealous rivals, can not endure.

My personal acquaintance with Mr. Quay extended over a period of about sixteen years. I first saw him at a national convention standing on a chair looking over the sea of faces, but more particularly into the faces of the Pennsylvania delegation as they answered to their names on a roll call. The delegation was being polled on an important vote by yeas and nays. In the process one delegate violated the instructions of the State convention that elected him, whereupon Mr. Quay calmly warned the recalcitrant that he would not go to another convention, and he never did.

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Mr. QUAY was a firm believer in party organization based upon the will of the party majority. Possessing a rare genius as an organizer—able, tactful, courageous, frank, and truthful, always considerate of predominant public opinion, which he seldom failed to measure with accuracy—we can easily understand how for years he maintained supremacy in the great Keystone State, and why his advice and suggestions were so highly valued by those whom he assisted in formulating party policies in the nation.

As a convention manager he had no superior. His strength in this regard was grounded in a phenomenal knowledge of men. Human ambitions, as evinced in politics, were to him as the keyboard of a grand piano to Paderewski. Did he play upon the controlling motives of ambitious men? Undoubtedly so, yet not in the sense of trifling with them, but rather with the solemn purpose and the fruitful result of bringing them into harmonious accord. Invariably, the best parliamentarians, without knowing by whom they had been selected, wielded the gavel. The orators were always heard each in his respective rôle. Vital motions came somehow and at the opportune time from the right delegate in the most important delegation; and when the convention had adjourned the rank and file applauded and commended its work, for it was at once apparent that the strongest and most available men in the party had been nominated. Almost before the tumult of the great gathering had ceased the modest political philosopher, out of whose brain the result had been achieved, was complacently dallying with the fishes of the lakes among the cooling woods of Maine, evolving the plans for final victory in November.

Party history will justify the assertion so often made that Republicans owed their success in 1888 to the superb management, the invincible skill, of Mr. QUAY. Only the unfortunate

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physical condition of the Presidential candidate he favored at the Minneapolis convention prevented a Republican victory in 1892. Many instances of this character, showing his superior abilities in the field of partisan politics, might be cited. For his worth in this regard he was admired by a wide host of party friends as well as by a multitude of men who did not agree with him in matters of political principle. By a few individuals, whom it is unnecessary to classify, he was misrepresented, maligned, and caricatured until thoughtless people—those with superficial minds, without knowing or caring to know anything about the real facts, strangers to the warm, manly impulses of his patriotic heart—came to speak lightly and disrespectfully of him, because he did not subscribe to the impracticable things that delighted their theoretical souls. To such as these, party organizations are hideous nightmares. I speak now in the presence of a distinguished assemblage of men who came to the position they occupy here through the machinery of party politics. This is none the less true of our predecessors and our legislative colleagues at the other end of the Capitol. It will be true as to our and their successors. It has been so as to all our Presidents. Underlying and serving as the motive power of this machinery are certain fixed political principles, and yet no man who has succeeded to place through the agency of this machinery can justly rest his claim to distinction wholly upon his adherence to party tenets, entirely apart from the influences which hold party organizations together. When a man proclaims that he will accept an office if it comes to him unencumbered by pledge or promise, the world applauds, as it has a right to do, for here is a hero, self-crowned though he be. And yet this is but another way which this exceptional candidate has adopted of saying that he is "in the hands of his friends." Who are these friends?

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None other than those who must organize for success, and this organization is the party machine, no worse perhaps, and surely no better, than the one that preceded it. But, while party organization endures, dyspeptics and misanthropes will complain about what they offensively term the "machine;" and how true it is that—

> On eagle's wings immortal scandals fly,
> While virtuous actions are but born and die.

Mr. QUAY rarely indulged in speechmaking. He belonged to that class of men, small in number though distinguished in deeds, who proceed upon the theory that in silence there is wisdom. It was in action that he was strongest. And yet, where speech became a prerequisite to action, he did not fail. His public utterances during all the years he was a member of this body cover but few pages of the Record. Yet in that time no great questions were determined without the aid of his advice. During the period of his political activity he labored incessantly for the success of the party in whose principles he believed, and in his own State his leadership, never successfully challenged, was acquiesced in and encouraged by the many distinguished men whose combined wisdom has brought renown to Pennsylvania. His title to the place of leader in his own State can be easily traced. It was based upon a complete knowledge of public affairs and a simple purpose to better the condition and promote the happiness of a vast constituency. We find evidence of this fact in an address delivered by Mr. QUAY to the State League of Republican clubs, May 14, 1901, at Philadelphia, in the course of which he said:

> Ever since the Republican party came into power the State government has been wisely and economically administered—administered, indeed, with an economy which, in view of our population, wealth, territory, multiplied industries, manufactures, mines, oil production, railroads, and canals, seems almost parsimony.

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When the Republican party came into power in Pennsylvania the State debt approximated $40,000,000; now it is less than $177,500. Then the annual interest charge was twice the amount of the total debt and annual interest to-day. Then all lands were taxed for State purposes; now they are exempt. Then horses, cattle, carriages, watches, occupations, and professions were taxed for State purposes; now they are exempt, and in the meantime $10,500,000 have been spent upon schools for soldiers' orphans. These taxes repealed have not been replaced by any tax upon individuals.

In the meantime the annual appropriation for common schools has been increased from $300,000 to $6,250,000. Since then the large revenues derived from liquor licenses have been diverted almost entirely from the State to the treasuries of the counties and municipalities. Then each county was compelled to maintain its own indigent insane; now the State bears half the burden. The repealed taxes have been made up by the revenues derived from moneys at interest, three-fourths of which is returned to the counties, and by imposing additional burdens upon corporations. It is proper also to allude to the fact that when the Republican party came into power laws for the protection of labor were almost unknown. Now their catalogue is too long for quotation.

Mr. President, to have been, during most of the period in which these important events occurred, the leader of a political organization so closely identified in policy and aspiration with them is a sufficient and a lasting monument to any man.

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Address of Mr. Stewart, of Nevada.

Mr. President: Matthew Stanley Quay was a marked character. He excelled in those qualities which challenge admiration and inspire love and affection. He was continuously elevated by the votes of the people to prominent places in the great State of Pennsylvania for more than half a century. He was a friend of the people, and in return the people were his friends. He entered without flinching into many contests with the most formidable political combinations in his State. He was fearless in his contentions against wrong; he was generous and kindly in his intercourse with the weak. Although I knew he was a dominant force in Pennsylvania, my personal acquaintance with him commenced after he became United States Senator in 1887. We were both members of the Committee on Claims. He displayed remarkable patience, industry, and an intuitive sense of justice without the slightest egotism or self-assertion.

I soon found that he was a man of remarkable will power; that he was continually doing things. Although a scholar and a master of the English language, he never attempted to gain reputation by saying things. He wrote to express ideas and not for the purpose of dazzling the public with literary rainbows.

During the first session of Congress in which we served together I met a poorly clad, sickly old woman selling flowers. Her distressed condition attracted my attention. I stopped and gave her a quarter of a dollar. She said to me:

"You are good; you are almost as good as that man over there," pointing to Senator Quay, who was walking on the

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opposite side of the street. I inquired of her: "What did he do for you?" She replied: "He gives me a little money every time he comes along, and if it had not been for him I should have starved to death. I pray for him every night."

This little instance gave me some insight into the character of Senator QUAY. There was hardly a month during the time he was in the Senate that I did not learn from the poor and distressed of similar charities by him. What he did in that line, however, was known only to himself and the objects of his charity. His sympathy for the suffering of others and his kind consideration for the common people furnish a key to his hold on the affections of the people of Pennsylvania. Men may ride into power on account of political organization, personal wealth, or powerful associations, but the man who is kept in public place by the votes of the people without artificial aids for more than a generation must be in sympathy with the masses. That mutual love and affection which bind the people to a great character and hold them to him during a half century is the highest evidence that can exist of his real worth. The ambition of the great men of Pennsylvania, the power of wealth, of organization and combination, all conspired in vain to alienate the affection of the people of Pennsylvania for him or break down his indomitable will. Sometimes it seemed to the outside world that he was overthrown and destroyed, but in the following campaign Mr. QUAY was invariably found in the lead. The effort to defeat him for the Senate in the last campaign appeared to have exhausted the force of all opposition to him. I am informed on good authority that it was conceded before his death that if he had lived a few months longer he would have been returned to the United States Senate without opposition from any source.

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Mr. QUAY was not only great in his own State, but he was a national character. The part he acted in national politics, not only in leading the Pennsylvania delegation at many national conventions, but in the consummate management of the Harrison campaign, gave him the first place among the brilliant leaders of political forces in the United States.

Senator QUAY was eminently a domestic man. His home was a model for American families. Undoubtedly much of the strength and fortitude which he exhibited in his contests with the political giants of his time had their origin in the surroundings of his happy home. His loving wife and devoted children made that home a place of rest and recuperation and enabled him to meet each coming contest with renewed vigor of body and mind. Everyone who visited his house and saw him surrounded in his library by his loving family was struck with the contrast between what he really was and what jealous rivalry had painted him to be.

Senator QUAY was intensely American. His views were progressive and he devoted himself to the utmost of his power to build up the industries of his State and the whole country. Business men everywhere trusted him and recognized in him a great and reliable force in protecting and building up the material interests of the country.

He did not pretend to be better than he was. Although he was a great student of religious books, he never sought to achieve popularity by ostentatious display of the emblems of piety. All religious denominations trusted his impartial judgment and had confidence that their rights would be respected by him.

His great and commanding leadership in the Republican party did not prejudice him against men of the opposition.

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Although a soldier and an ardent Union man during the civil war, he recognized the sturdy manhood and daring chivalry of the men of the South. His friendships were not bound by sectional lines. The brotherly love between him and many of the prominent leaders of the armies of the South distinguished him as fully capable of discriminating between personal relations and national policies. If there were enough MATTHEW STANLEY QUAYS in the world the nations would understand each other better and the longing for universal peace might be gratified.

Pennsylvania has produced many great men, but it is doubtful if any of her sons has excelled or will excel MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY in those qualities of head and heart which men love and respect. His keen intellect and irresistible will were recognized throughout the whole country. His fidelity to truth, and affection for the masses secured for him the devoted friendship of millions. He was true to every obligation of friendship; his word was as sacred as his life; friends and enemies alike bear testimony that a promise of Senator QUAY'S could not be improved by the indorsement of friend or foe.

The Senate and the country mourn his loss. All sympathize with his bereaved family. The many good deeds that he performed, the good example that he has left, and the untarnished name that he has bequeathed to his descendants are legacies of greater value and more precious than wealth or rank could bestow.

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Address of Mr. Dubois, of Idaho.

Mr. President: In the passing of Senator Matthew Stanley Quay from this Chamber and from this life the Senate and the nation are deprived of a strong character, one that withstood the battles of life nobly and well for the allotted period of threescore years and ten.

In the character of this Senator many traits of a peculiar, unusual, and commendable order were highly exemplified. His quiet removal calls instinctively to mind that a higher power easily does that which by harsh methods weak humanity attempts, but signally fails to accomplish. This great, rich life which was offered up but a few months ago, was unusually full of fierce battle and fiery conquest. Senator Quay loved his friends with a devotion seldom equaled by man, and he knew no limit in accomplishing for them that which they desired. He battled with his enemies with a relish as evident as though the obstacles crossed his pathway as a matter of course. He met opposition cheerfully and manfully, and invariably forced his opponents to admire his signal genius, usually emerging from the battle the stronger for the conflict. He was extremely modest in his demeanor, an everyday man, unemotional, and plain, and the story of the end of his life portrays that steadfast, innate trait so prominent in him to be always brave and face the inevitable as calmly as he had always theretofore faced the stern realities of his turbulent career.

Senator Quay was a most striking character of the active, forceful, American type of men who are unswerving in the accomplishment of results, and who brush aside as of no

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moment all obstacles lying along their path. Even death itself had no terror for this brave and stoic nature. "Undaunted he lived, and undaunted he died." He was rich in many of the things that men of to-day so much need. Rich in strength, force, and courage; rich in wisdom and judgment; and rich in tact and in decision. Especially was he rich in his consistent devotion to his native Commonwealth, Pennsylvania. If he knew of any limit to the great resourcefulness of this his native State, he passed it by and adored those things which she possessed in superabundance. In his speech at Phoenixville, Pa., some fifteen years ago, he made use of this beautiful tribute to Pennsylvania, after enumerating in detail many of its great diversified resources, which the sons and daughters of that early Quaker territory will be glad to hand down with no small degree of pride to the later generation of people who are to take up the battles of life where they fall. He said:

> If this Union of States were dissolved, Pennsylvania could stand alone and be a nation unto herself.

And again, in the same speech, he displayed a degree of loyalty to Pennsylvania which his descendants will cherish for many generations, in the following words:

> I am proud that there is not a drop of blood in my veins that is not Pennsylvania blood two centuries old; I thank God I am a Pennsylvanian.

No more striking evidence of his steadfastness of purpose was presented to me in his great life than in my association with him in our Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. He was as true a friend as the American Indian ever had. When importuned and labored with by persistent lobbyists to affect his action he never, in all his connection with that committee, lost sight for an instant of the Indian and his condition, his assets, and his ultimate welfare. In him the committee, the Senate, and

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the country had an able representative; but the red man had a benevolent friend and an able defender.

Whether or not the fact that the deceased Senator carried in his veins a small percentage of Delaware Indian blood, or whether or not he cherished the interesting recollections of his early ancestors, some of whom but a few generations since had more Indian blood than he, matters little. Albeit the fires of friendship toward them burned brightly, and the spirit of loyalty always unselfishly exhibited by him toward the Indian elicited my firm admiration and impresses me now with the signal wisdom of the Delaware Indians at their annual dance a year ago last Thanksgiving Day, which the deceased Senator attended, in electing him as war chief of their tribe, a distinction which came to him as a surprise, but which he held in very high appreciation.

While at this annual dance of the Delaware Indians, in 1903, some old Indian women made him presents of moccasins. The Senator gave each of them a present of $50, and perhaps I would never have known anything about it if the old ladies themselves had not told it.

In one of his recent visits to Florida an old Seminole Indian who was sick was sent to the hospital by Senator QUAY, who paid the hospital charges and for the surgical operation necessary to be performed on him.

When Chief Joseph and his party of Nez Percé Indians from my State were in Washington, and had no money to take them home, Senator QUAY took them to the President and arrangements were made by which certain funds could be used to pay their expenses while here and their transportation home. Another Indian was in the party—John Hill—who could not be provided for in the same manner as Chief Joseph, owing to the fact that he was not a Nez Percé. Senator QUAY offered

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to pay the expenses of Hill out of his own pocket, but Hill happened to have enough money to pay his own expenses and did not accept the help.

The foregoing are only a few of the many instances of this kind that I happen to know about.

I esteem it a high privilege to have served with him on this Indian Committee, and now that he is no more with us I know that his spirit is still in our deliberations there, and that his insistence for justice to these people influences us in the determination of the many perplexing questions which confront us.

As a friend he was always true; as an enemy he was always frank and generous. I doubt if anyone who has served his country in this Chamber for the last quarter of a century could accomplish as much, purely through his personality as he.

He was always true and reliable. He was quick to give a promise, but never failed in its performance. He would make up his decision while the case was being stated and was ready with an answer. His answer was binding, and if the request was preferred by a friend was always a pledge of assistance if there was not some reason which rendered his assistance impossible. In this case he frankly stated why he could not aid. His frankness and sincerity were his unique and wonderful charm and the source of his great power.

Senator QUAY was a student and possessed of much literary knowledge, and had a fine grasp of great problems of government. His advice was sought and followed by the great leaders of his party. I love to think of him, however, and shall always remember him, as an ideal of what a kind and sympathetic man and a true friend should be.

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ADDRESS OF MR. FAIRBANKS, OF INDIANA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: We again pause to pay our tribute to the memory of a friend and coworker in the public service. As the years pass we are forcibly reminded of the frequency of this sad and loving office. If the roll of those who have laid down their earthly responsibilities during the comparatively few years of my presence in this exalted Chamber were to be called, it would be a long and notable one. Another name has been added to that distinguished list, and we are met to do it honor. Upon the morrow we shall meet to record the passing of some other coadjutor, but who it will be is known only to the All-wise. We know only this, and that is the harvest of death is unending.

Senator MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was essentially self-made, as are those who most impress themselves upon their times. He was born to neither wealth nor station. He came from the modest home of a Presbyterian minister; a home pervaded by a generous, wholesome, religious, and patriotic spirit; a frugal home, where love of God, love of neighbor, and love of country were inculcated, where self-reliance was taught.

Senator QUAY was a political general of extraordinary capacity. He was one of the most masterful political leaders of his day. He was the undisputed leader of his party in the great State of Pennsylvania for more than a quarter of a century. He also held a place of commanding influence in the national councils of his party. He was once intrusted with the leadership of a national campaign. The result was success, due in large measure to his superb generalship. He was adroit in mapping out and executing his political campaigns. He drew

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about him men in whose loyal purpose he had faith and in whose capacity to execute his plans he had the utmost confidence. He exacted the most loyal allegiance and repaid devotion with his own fidelity. He was a man who had in full degree the faculty of making and holding friends. They stood by him under all conditions, in sunshine and in shadow. He verily bound them to him as with hoops of steel.

He was a man of rare self-control. Amidst the storm he was serene, moving with almost resistless power to the accomplishment of his purpose. He fought many sharply contested political battles. He received and gave many hard blows, and to some he seemed indifferent to criticism, but there were few men with more deeply sensitive natures than his. He had a heart which was easily touched. He cherished in full measure the good opinion of his fellows and was deeply grieved when he lost the approval of a friend.

Senator QUAY testified his loyalty to his country in that hour which put loyalty to the highest test. He was a believer in the virtue of our institutions, and when the national Union was in peril he promptly entered the military service of the Government. He met all of the arduous demands made upon him with intelligent and firm resolution. He demonstrated at all times his ability as an organizer. By gallantry displayed on the field of battle he won and received from the Congress of the United States a medal of honor. There was no service which he was not ready to render in behalf of his country and his countrymen. Wherever duty called he was ready to go.

I had but little personal acquaintance with Senator QUAY prior to my entrance to the Senate. I can never forget the kindly and helpful personal interest he manifested when I came here, unfamiliar with the important duties and the great responsibilities which rest upon a Senator. For years we were

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associated upon one of the most important committees of this Chamber, and in the consideration of the questions which came before it he was actuated by but one motive, and that was to promote in the fullest possible degree the public interest. He was inspired by no other thought in the discharge of his duties than the advancement of the welfare of his countrymen.

Senator QUAY rarely engaged in debate, but when he spoke he spoke pointedly and clearly. He had the power of luminous and compact statement. His utterances were not embellished with those graces which the skilled orator employs to fascinate and fix the attention of his auditors. As a rule, he spoke only when necessity required, and in the discharge of some duty especially imposed upon him by his committee assignments.

He was diligent, painstaking, and earnest in his committee service, that service which is beyond the reach of the public eye, and which is so essential in the proper discharge of the business of this great body. No important measure promotive of the public welfare stands to his personal credit, yet he contributed his full share to the enactment of laws and the establishment of policies which conserve the public interest. Legislation and public policies are largely the fruit of many minds, the composite reflection and mature judgment of many statesmen cooperating to a common end. He made his just contribution to the measures which engaged the attention of the Senate during his membership here.

His most distinctive and effective service was in behalf of the protective tariff. Representing a State vitally interested in protection, he became an intelligent student and effective advocate of that great economic policy. He made himself one of the masters of the subject, particularly as it bore upon the manifold interests of his Commonwealth.

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He was a man of fine literary tastes. He was a lover of good books and made himself familiar with them. The atmosphere of the library was congenial to him. His books were his choicest companions and he loved to dwell in their fellowship. But a few days before the final summons came he requested to be taken into his library for the last time. His wish was granted, and he glanced through the choicest volumes and parted with them as with friends of many years.

Mr. President, our friend has left us a legacy of many kind and generous deeds, which we shall hold forever in grateful remembrance.

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Address of Mr. Foraker, of Ohio.

Mr. President: It is difficult to speak satisfactorily about Senator Quay. Pretty nearly everybody knew him in a general way, but hardly anybody, so far as my knowledge goes, knew him intimately. He was a unique and much misunderstood personality, who had all kinds of experiences in his public career. He had unusual success, but it was attended with some of the sorest and severest trials. He had legions of friends and devoted supporters and admirers, but he also had bitter enemies, who unrelentingly opposed him while living and bitterly defamed him when he died. Only extravagant praise would be regarded as just by his enthusiastic friends, while any eulogy will probably be regarded by his enemies as insincere and unmerited.

However this may be, I can speak of him only as he was known to me in the long yet limited acquaintance I had with him. According to this knowledge his friends probably overestimated him in some respects, as certainly his enemies grossly underestimated him in many. He was largely known only as a political leader, but those of us who were better acquainted with him knew he possessed the qualities of statesmanship in a high degree. Many knew of him only as captain in the tempestuous strife of party politics, but those of us who were associated with him here knew him also as a man of the gentlest nature, as a devoted student of literature, as a man of scholarly attainments, with corresponding culture and refinement.

Many who knew him only as the great leader of a great party in a great State, largely in the public eye because of his relation to turbulent contests, never imagined that he was yet one of the most silent, quiet, modest, patient, and unassuming of men. It

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is impossible to comprehend his apparently many-sided character without recalling his whole life, and in that way the early influences that operated to mold his character and make him what he was.

As the son of a Presbyterian minister he was born into a literary atmosphere, and in his earliest years was surrounded by refined and cultivated people, who appreciated education, art, literature, and the sciences. He had an unusual aptitude for study, and was zealous and ambitious in the acquirement of an education. At the early age of 17 he was graduated in the classical course at Washington and Jefferson College. After leaving college, for some years he devoted himself to travel, teaching, and lecturing, thus fastening in his mind, by the use he made of it, the education he had received. Returning to Pennsylvania, he engaged in the practice of the law, but quit that for the Army in the great contest for the preservation of the Union.

As a soldier he was so distinguished for bravery and efficiency that he favorably attracted the attention of the governor of his State, who advanced him to positions of trust and usefulness where he had opportunity to become acquainted with the politics of his State, in which, by rapid strides, he soon became an acknowledged leader. As such he was sent to the Senate, where for many years he maintained a conspicuous position and exerted a commanding influence.

The mere suggestion of such a career is enough to show that he possessed unusual intellectual endowment, but this is particularly manifest when it is recalled that he had no adventitious aid to success. He was small in stature, light in weight, and not impressive or imposing in appearance. He made no pretensions to oratory, seldom spoke in public, and possessed but few of the charms and fascinations that so

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frequently prove helpful to public men. He had no natural influences or affiliations to support and advance him. His repeated and long-continued successes were distinctively his own achievements. They were due to the fact that he had unusual sound judgment, never-tiring industry, unceasing energy, and indefatigable and well-conceived purpose, coupled with unusual executive capacity and a most remarkable knowledge of human nature, that enabled him to comprehend situations and utilize individuals.

He had many great triumphs, but probably the greatest, because the most far-reaching and most appreciated by his party, was that which he achieved as national chairman of the Republican committee in the campaign of 1888, when he successfully diverted the attention of his opponents from New York State, where he made and won the real battle, to Southern and Western States, in which he made great demonstrations, but in reality only misleading feints.

He further strengthened and popularized himself with his party throughout the country, and particularly in his own State, by forcing the adoption of more satisfactory schedules in the Wilson-Gorman law by holding the floor of the Senate, speaking and reading continuously in favor of a protective tariff, until the opposition in charge of the bill capitulated and granted acceptable rates. He also, though in a different manner, and with less resulting popularity in his party, saved the McKinley tariff bill by defeating the force bill.

These were all exciting events at the time of their occurrence, and they added greatly to his fame among the people and to his influence in his party. Many other like illustrations might be given of his abilities as a party manager and legislator, but the limitations of this address preclude. Suffice it to say he was ever alert and resourceful whether conducting a political contest or a parliamentary struggle. No weakness of his

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adversary escaped him, and while the battle lasted no vulnerable point was spared.

While he did not seek these contests, in a way he seemed to enjoy them and the victory with which he usually emerged from them, for he had all the enthusiasm of battle in his nature, and was all aglow with life and energy when it was aroused; but his greatest pleasure was found in his books, to which, as the years went by, he became more and more attached.

Only a few days before his death, when he realized that the end was near, these faithful companions in whose pages he had so often found peace, beauty, hope, and inspiration, came trooping before his mind, and turning to his attendants he said: "I want to see my books once more before I die." A correspondent relates that when carried into his library "he fondled the volumes, read a line here and there, surveyed them lovingly and longingly until his eyelids closed, and like a tired child he was carried away from them forever." He was the first to realize that death was approaching, and months before the end with characteristic wisdom he proceeded while yet in the enjoyment of all his faculties to "set his house in order." Without a murmur of complaint or regret, but with calm resignation he then waited for the summons, and when it came, without a struggle, a pain, or pang, he fell asleep in the midst of his loved ones.

Men will differ in their estimates of his character and public services, but all must agree that he had a marvelous faculty for political and party organization, and that he had such exceptional powers in these respects that he is entitled to be ranked in the very forefront of the great leaders of his time, and all who served with him here will agree that he was a faithful and efficient representative of the mighty Commonwealth he was so proud to serve.

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Address of Mr. Clark, of Wyoming.

Mr. President: There was sorrow in many a heart when Matthew Stanley Quay passed from the scene of his earthly activity. It was almost impossible to realize that this man, strong among his fellows, keen in initiative, resourceful in execution, and sure in results, should no longer have a place among the living sons of men. To be sure his life had been one of intense activity, civil and military, from the time he first courted fortune in the South until the last day he occupied his place in this Chamber, and as we pause to reflect on all that came to his lot in those years, the things attempted, the difficulties encountered and overcome, the victories and successes hard fought for and won, as we recall the fact that the full span of life allotted to man, and more, had been his, we know that his life had been full; yet in spite of all these reflections his death seemed to us sudden and premature.

It is no part of my purpose to recount with anything of detail the life of our departed friend. We all knew him as a man who had carved out his own fortunes, one who had succeeded in life by dint of his own exertions, responsible to no man for his action, and with a self-confidence that rose superior to all fear and overcame all difficulties, and yet a self-confidence that was as far removed from egotism or self-sufficiency as is day from night. Quiet and sparing in speech and mild in manner, he yet had that unalterable determination that conquers success. Where others hesitated, he attempted; when the hearts of others failed, he reorganized his columns and pressed on to accomplishment.

In political matters especially was his daring noticeable. Many a forlorn hope has he led in this Chamber and time and

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time again brought victory out of what seemed almost impossible conditions or sure defeat. But strong as was his will when set upon a given purpose, hard contestant as he was in political and other controversies, yet there were few more charming in their social lives; a man of wide reading and generous information, his social friendship was a thing to be greatly prized; and down deep in his heart, purposely concealed from the gaze of men, abode a love for the poor and friendless that will forever crown his name. For oppression of the weak by the powerful he had a deadly hatred, and the records of this body will show that in this Chamber his voice was oftenest raised for those who had no friend at court. Especially was he active and efficient in his services in behalf of the Indian. Their forlorn condition as a people, their helplessness, and their surely coming doom awakened all his sympathy and loving service; he had gone deep into their history and traditions, and no man who ever sat in this Chamber had a closer knowledge of the Indian than he.

On this occasion I may perhaps be indulged in a personal reminiscence only because it allows an opportunity to disclose in a most imperfect way a wonderful phase of the character of our departed friend. A year and a half ago I was surprised and honored with an invitation to accompany him on a trip to the Indian Territory. Why he should thus choose me as a companion I have never yet divined. The purpose of this trip I could not then imagine. In due time, however, we ended our journey by rail near the little town of Dewey and were taken several miles away, where the Delaware Indians were holding their annual thanksgiving or harvest home. This is the one week of the year when they return to the worship of the older days, when they are in close communion with the Great Spirit, and when the Manitou is to them a living,

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breathing presence. For two nights from dark to dawn we witnessed their communion with the Great Spirit; for two nights from sunset to sunrise, perhaps for the first time, white men were present as the fast-fading race was carrying out a ritual which was old when all modern ceremonies in this land were young. The details of that meeting I can not here in honor recount. The solemnity of that occasion I can not here depict, but I can say that at the rising sun, with an impressiveness indescribable and with an earnestness impossible except to a passing race, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was crowned, and probably as the last, with the royal honors of the Delawares. This was an expression of thankfulness for all the years he had labored for that people, an evidence of their appreciation of his great services in their behalf. I may be pardoned this reminiscence, and only use it as a side light of the character of our departed friend. Great himself, he was ever mindful of the lowly. Secure in his high place in the councils of the nation, he despised not the appeal of the helpless. Strong in battle for himself, time was always found for earnest effort for the weak and the lowly of the land. And I could almost hear upon the sorrowing winds the wail of that people when they learned that the friend upon whom they had leaned was no more.

And, Mr. President, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, brave as he was in the defense of his country and upon the field of battle, successful as he was in personal affairs and political aim, yet his highest and sweetest epitaph will be written by that fast-disappearing race which appreciated his services and by the poor and needy who were tendered his help.

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Address of Mr. Perkins, of California.

Mr. President: By the death of Matthew Stanley Quay the country has lost one of its most patriotic citizens, the Senate a very distinguished member, the State of Pennsylvania a loyal son, and the Republican party one of its strong leaders. The character of the man was manifested early in his distinguished career. In whatever he undertook there was found to be as the basis of his action sturdy loyalty—loyalty to his country, to his native State, and to his friends. He was among the first who took up arms for the preservation of the Union at the time of the civil war, and served with the Army until his great ability caused him to be withdrawn from the field for important work elsewhere, though still on military lines. The record which he established for himself as a soldier is an enviable one, for it is the result of heroism for a great cause, personal bravery, and an unusual aptitude for military affairs, and his deeds won for him the special commendation of Congress for courage and capacity on the field of battle. Although the hardships of a hard campaign so broke down his health that he felt compelled to resign his command, when the first guns of the battle of Fredericksburg were heard he insisted on serving as a volunteer aid, against the protest of the surgeons and of his friends, and he was conspicuous throughout the conflict for his daring and his resistless energy. Of such stuff were made the soldiers who won Shiloh, scaled Lookout Mountain, fought through the Wilderness, and brought victory at Gettysburg. It was the inspiration of patriotism which forced all these men to deeds of valor, and in none was this inspiration more potent than in Matthew Stanley Quay.

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Although in his Senatorial career he was not among those who made their influence felt by words upon the floor, nevertheless his influence upon legislation was very great, and he became one of the men who had to be reckoned with on all important occasions. By his wide knowledge of conditions and his firm grasp on facts, he formed opinions which he firmly held and which commanded the respect of all who knew him. Whatever work he took in hand he pushed with the utmost vigor. His aid was therefore sought by those who were deeply interested in measures pending before the Senate.

But it was in respect to legislation affecting Pennsylvania, the State that he represented, that the energy and genius of Senator QUAY for legislation were most manifest. Loyalty to his State and its interests was his predominating characteristic, and in nothing was this fact more conspicuous than in the case of measures which affected economic conditions in that great manufacturing community. It was with a very jealous eye that he watched the trend of public opinion on economic questions, and was prompt to take action wherever there was a tendency to advocate measures that would affect the great business interests of our country, and especially those of his own State.

He had seen the development of unparalleled prosperity under the influence of laws which protected producers and the workers in the raw materials of commerce; he had watched the rapid and wide-spread material prosperity among the people; the increase among all classes of comforts and luxuries of all kinds; the growth of the old cities and the birth and wonderful progress of new ones, and he wished to maintain the conditions which had made possible the vast changes that had occurred under his observation. When, therefore, he became one of the great champions of the protective policy, it was with all these proofs of its efficacy before his eyes, and his belief that what had done so much for one State would do as much for

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others, made him one of the chief advocates of a protective tariff, and caused him to oppose with all his strength any movement that would, if successful, open to competition by foreign laborers the markets of the United States, which had been created by his own constituents, and which of right, he believed, belonged to them.

Those members of the Senate who recall the debates on the tariff bills which have been before Congress will remember that no member, perhaps, showed a more extended or minute knowledge of the industries of the United States than did Senator QUAY. Hardly a schedule came up for discussion that did not bring from him remarks showing the close study he had given to the subject and his exact knowledge of it. He was apparently as familiar with conditions in California as in Pennsylvania, and showed as thorough an understanding of the needs of the cattle raisers of Montana as of those of the ironworkers of his own State.

What was his interest in the great policy which has done so much for the United States was made evident on the occasion of the discussion of the Wilson-Gorman bill, when, although infrequently addressing the Senate, he began a speech which was one of the longest on record, and which he was prepared to extend to any length until his object was accomplished—the acceptance of the protective amendments which had been added to the bill, which he believed were vitally important to the prosperity and welfare of the country. That his object was attained is a matter of history.

But it was as a general on the great political battle ground that he first became prominent and where he displayed that courage and sagacity which so often brought success to him. He had served in the Army during the civil war, and in action had manifested courage of the highest order and military judgment that would have given him a high rank in

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that service. But the exercise of these qualities was transferred to the field of politics, on which contests require the exercise of just those powers which are required by a general in the field—exact and discriminating knowledge of conditions, ability to take advantage of them, courage to carry into execution daring plans, persistence in carrying them out, resourceful in surmounting unexpected obstacles, knowledge of men and ability to attach them to himself, so that they make his aims their own.

He was one of the greatest political strategists of his time, and won battles that a weaker, less courageous, or less resourceful man would have lost. His genius for organization and execution took in the entire country. He was able to unite wide and diverse elements into a solid, homogeneous force which became irresistible. This genius made him the most powerful political factor in his own great State, of which he was so proud, and of which he thus spoke:

> If this Union of States were dissolved, Pennsylvania could stand alone and be a nation unto herself. Out of her own bowels she could spin the web of her prosperity. She could place in the field and clothe, equip, and subsist an army of one-quarter of a million of men. She could build at her own shipyards her own navy, plate her ships from her own armor plants, arm them with guns from her own gun factories and send them out on the Atlantic and the Great Lakes. In her industries she could levy tribute on all her sister States and almost all foreign countries. I am proud there is not a drop of blood in my veins that is not Pennsylvania blood two centuries old. I thank God I am a Pennsylvanian.

One of the most remarkable qualities of the late Senator QUAY was his ability to inspire devotion in his followers and friends which never faltered, and which gave him a strength that nothing could break down. It was a personal devotion, a personal affection, I might say, founded on his personal characteristics, which inspired confidence and esteem. It was another of those qualities which all great generals must possess if they are to handle armies successfully. An army distrustful is an army

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half defeated. But in the many political battles in which Senator QUAY was engaged he never doubted nor had cause to doubt the mettle or the loyalty of his followers. He was as true to them as they were to him. Perhaps this loyalty to his friends was the cause of their unfaltering trust in him. That is a trait which inspires respect and affection for any man who possesses it, and it is a source of strength, aye, of confidence, in time of need.

Senator QUAY'S friendships were lifelong. Only treachery of the rankest kind could cause him to withdraw from anyone who had once gained the great privilege of his friendship and his confidence. He could harbor no resentment on account of politics or political differences if honestly held and honorably maintained. The most notable example of this fine trait of character was seen on the occasion when an intimate colleague voted against seating him when appointed Senator by the governor of Pennsylvania. Not a word of reproach had Senator QUAY for him—only a kind and pitying reference to the failing health of his old friend. He greeted him as kindly afterwards as though he had on that occasion been his most stanch and loyal supporter.

I wish to bear testimony of my association with Senator QUAY upon many important committees of the Senate, one of the most important, perhaps, being the Committee on Appropriations, by which appropriations are framed for the various branches of the Government. He brought to the business of that committee his wide research, and gave to every item there presented the same knowledge and painstaking thought that he would have given to his own private business. He was loyal and true to the interests of the Government. His thoughts were not circumscribed by any sectional boundary. He gave the same broad and patriotic consideration to every measure that came before that great committee that he gave to every public question upon which he was called to act.

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Passing a long life in active politics and often in political battles of great moment, Senator QUAY was nearly always viewed from that standpoint alone. That one whose energies were devoted to the greatest of all games, which usually absorbs all other ambition, had a domestic side to his life which is very touching to contemplate, is, though it should not be, a matter for some surprise. But that the QUAY of public life was not the QUAY of private life is well known to his intimate friends. In his home and among his personal friends all the gentler qualities of manhood stood forth and made him a most engaging personality. Then politics were cast aside and often literature took its place, for Senator QUAY was a voluminous reader of the best products of the human mind, and his knowledge of the great writers was wide and minute. His private library was one of the best in his State, and that it was put to good use was abundantly proven on many social visits of his intimate friends.

Senator QUAY for many months prior to his death appeared to realize that his days were numbered. On several occasions when I had greeted him with kind words of encouragement, after his return from Florida, where he had been to recuperate, he replied, No, that he never expected to again regain his good health, but that he had come back to his station of duty and would remain as long as he was able to sit at his desk. He labored daily in his official capacity and put his business affairs in order, providing for those who were near and dear to him, not forgetting to secure another position for his secretary, who had been with him for many years, but whose services he said he would no longer require. Then patiently he awaited the last summons that must sooner or later come to us all.

"Death is no surprise to the wise man; he is always ready to depart, having learned to anticipate the time when he must make up his mind to take this last journey."

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Address of Mr. Daniel, of Virginia.

Mr. President: The Hon. Matthew Stanley Quay, of Pennsylvania, having passed some years beyond the allotted period of three score years and ten, has now passed from the scenes of his earthly labors. On the same day we were sworn into the Senate, now well-nigh eighteen years ago. An incident of marked kindness and courtesy on his part extended to me soon prepossessed me toward him, and our association ripened into cordial and abiding friendship. He was a strong man, of many fine faculties and traits of character. He had the capacity for engaging and attaching to himself disinterested friends—a quality which bespeaks the fiber of the man more than words. He hated shams. Hypocrisy he despised. His opinions as a rule were boldly declared. His positions were resolutely maintained. His enemies he defied; his friends he cherished. He was without ostentation, and of little vanity, but he had great pride and great courage. His ambition was to do things rather than to say things, but whatever he said he said well. Concentrative in his purposes and constructive in his plans, he paid great attention to the great questions that came to this body for consideration, and he engaged but little in minor controversies. He focused his energies on decisive points. He was a fighter when a fight was on, but he was not disputatious, intermeddlesome, or pugnacious. Whenever he spoke he showed comprehensive grasp of his subject in all of its relations. He was a thoroughly informed and well-read man, but without literary pretensions or affectations. He exerted large influence as a Senator, not only upon

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his party, but as well upon his colleagues, without regard to political affiliation. This influence was due to his genial disposition, to his manly character, to his common sense, and to the clearness and wide range of his vision. He was broad in his views of all questions. Like most men of mark, he had risen to distinction, station, and power by slow but progressive stages and through hard encounters. Such experiences are the best of all educators. The leaders of men are their receptive pupils.

A sketch of Senator QUAY is given in a Pennsylvania paper, from which I extract this striking passage:

> In Beaver they say that his chief characteristic was will power; the second, infinite patience and genius for details; the third, a great power to compromise differences in his party; the fourth, to keep his word; the fifth, to be silent and study his books when there was nothing else to do, for he was a great reader. His home in Beaver was that of the student and scholar; there was nothing superficial about it, for the owner abhorred mere show. His possessions were all impressive tributes to the refinement and good taste which brought them together. His pictures, his statuary, and his books cost him a fortune, and it is doubtful if there is anywhere in the State a private library the equal of that in the modest house in Beaver. Senator QUAY studied his books with a wholesome appetite for what was in them and never neglected them. He had everything in literature worth having which it had been possible to obtain. He had very rare editions of different authors, and was particularly energetic in his collection of works bearing upon religious history and political economy.

The public get, at best, but glimpses of the men who serve them on the public stage, and they are oftentimes, if not for the most part, superficial, false, and misleading glimpses. Senator QUAY was known of all men for his ability, but few knew, such was his retiring disposition, the depth and scope of his mind, the richness of his cultivation, the ripeness of his reflections, or the graces of his amiable and sociable nature.

His genius was typical of that of his people. His public career reflects the characteristics of the great middle State of Pennsylvania, of which he was a son and which he represented.

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It is a State where agriculture, mining, manufacturing, commerce, learning, and science have advanced as nearly abreast of each other as in any place upon the earth's surface. The community is thrifty, prosperous, and progressive through the combination of diversified resources, abounding energies, and steadfast purpose. The evenness of its development in multitudinous departments of enterprise has imparted to the massive structure stamina and proportion. Solid rather than showy; steady rather than impulsive; moderate and self-contained rather than salient or effusive; practical rather than theoretical; matter of fact rather than romantic; the people of Pennsylvania have applied their arts and efforts to the utilities and refinements of life rather than to those things which appeal to the imagination and captivate the fancy. They present a rare picture of industrial activity and of domestic peace and reposeful power. At the base of their history is the stirring and sturdy blood of the colonial pioneers, toned, as it were, with the peaceful mood of Penn and the practical wisdom of Franklin.

In their background rises the great story of the Revolution, from Independence Hall to Germantown, Brandywine, and Valley Forge. Through all the gradations of their progress the American spirit has pervaded their atmosphere, adding to the freedom and grace of our national ideals their substantial, social, and material attainments. Schools of fanaticism and hotbeds of anarchy find no congenial resort in such communities, and Pennsylvania may take to herself the credit of having sent to the national councils as a rule broad-minded, well-balanced, and American-hearted men. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was of this type. Brave soldier, as he had been in the Union Army, he brought here neither hatred, resentment, nor dislike of adversaries equally as brave. Northerner, as he was, he had no unkind word to say, no unkind thoughts to cherish, against

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his equally honest Southern neighbors. Republican, as he was, no sectional hate, no sectional line, marred his individual sympathies or belittled his patriotic purpose. Partisan devotee, as he was, he cursed not those equally partisan of ideals opposed to his ideals. While he gave much to party of organizing genius and laborious toil, he did not give to party what was meant for mankind.

During the term of President Harrison a measure called the "force bill" seemed on the eve of passage in this body, and many believed it was fraught with woe and horror to the people of the South and of permanent detriment to American institutions. Senator QUAY, though tied in every way to the Administration, exercised an independent and powerful influence against it. It was a period of passion that has now gone by. His wisdom did much to avert what I solemnly believe would have proved an unspeakable national calamity. Even memory of that episode is fading away, and I trust that I touch no sensitive chord in referring to it on this occasion. My object is solely to point to a great service which Senator QUAY—and I may say also his colleague, Senator Don Cameron—then rendered not only to the South, but to all of our countrymen; and to record here for my part a sense of gratitude, which my people share, and which will quicken my heart to its last pulsation.

But a few days ago the President of the United States made a remarkable speech in New York. It contained many noble and patriotic sentiments which the good heart, the good sense, and the restored good feeling of the American people will appreciate all over the country. I felt, as I laid down the paper which published it, as if I saw swinging inward upon its hinges the gate that closed a long and painful era. It is my pleasing thought of Senator QUAY to-day that he did nothing to prolong the era that has gone by, but on the contrary did much to

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mitigate its evils and to shorten its existence. I could pay to his memory no better and no sincerer tribute and for my country could express no better wish than by saying at his open grave, "God grant that the departed era may return no more to our country." I feel that in this wish I utter the noble aspirations of him whom we sincerely mourn to-day, and who, though "being dead, yet speaketh."

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Address of Mr. Nelson, of Minnesota.

Mr. President: I shall not dwell or enlarge on the details of Senator Quay's life or work. Those who knew him longer, more intimately, and are more familiar with his work than I, can much better acquit themselves of this task. The most I can venture is a brief outline, modest and conservative, of the man, his environment, and the epos of his life. There are a few monuments in a man's life that give us, when we ascertain them, his true boundaries and his real potentialities. These, however, should be viewed in the light of the times, the region, and the people where he dwelt. The coffin and the shroud measure the mortal part of the man. On this occasion we measure, as posterity will measure, the immortal, that which was not dust, nor will return to the dust.

Flattery and undue praise was foreign to the nature of Senator Quay, and his spirit will rebel against tributes and tokens of that kind.

Lecky, in his history of England in the eighteenth century, in referring to the American Army in the Revolutionary war, states:

> No troops in that Army had shown themselves more courageous, more patient, and more devoted than the Pennsylvania line. Its privates and noncommissioned officers consisted chiefly of immigrants from the North of Ireland, etc.

In another place, in describing the feeling of the people of the Carolinas toward England, he states:

> The Irish Presbyterians, on the other hand, appear to have been everywhere bitterly anti-English, and outside of New England it is probable that they did more of the real fighting of the Revolution than any other class.

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While there was a large element of the Scotch-Irish in the Continental Army, there was another contingent among them composed of settlers in the eastern valleys and foothills of the Alleghenies, the Blue Ridge, and the great Smoky Mountains, who, during the Revolutionary war, pressed westward over the mountains and, in the face of cruel and crafty savages, won and secured for our nation during that struggle a domain as large as and far richer than the theater of war between the mountains and the seaboard.

It was only once, but that in a most notable instance—the battle of Kings Mountain—that this contingent of Presbyterian Scotch-Irish met the English armies face to face in battle array.

In this encounter, which occurred at a most critical time in the course of the war in the southern colonies, when they were prostrated and well-nigh subdued, the mountaineers were completely successful, and their victory not only relieved Georgia and the Carolinas but forced Cornwallis to retire into Virginia and ultimately led to his final doom. This race has not only been the cradle of brave, irrepressible, and fearless pioneers, frontiersmen, and warriors, but it has also furnished our country some of the foremost men at the bar, on the bench, in the halls of legislation, and in the executive departments, State and national.

As the Vikings of Norway, transplanted to Normandy, and from thence as Normans to England, left their impress for all times upon the Anglo-Saxon, so have the Covenanters of Scotland transplanted to Ireland and from thence as Scotch-Irish to America, left their perpetual impress upon the descendants of the Puritans, the Cavalier, and the Quaker in our own country.

From the very loins of this Presbyterian Scotch-Irish race, famous in history, legend, and song, came Senator QUAY, a true

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type and representative of the dash and the virile vigor so pronounced the world over in this race. The son of a clergyman, he had in his childhood and youth all the advantages of a Christian home, and he remained faithful and loyal to the church of his fathers and ancestors to the end of his life. His gifts of ancestry and birth were not only schooled in the faith of his fathers, they were also blessed and fortified with a thorough academic and collegiate education, supplemented by a training in the law for the profession of a lawyer. He became, and was, a man of culture and literary tastes—an extensive reader of the best works, who digested, remembered, and profited in a great measure from what he read. In many of the choicest pieces of our literature he sought and found a tonic to rest his mind and quiet his nerves from the strain and tension incident to an aggressive, offensive, and defensive political life—largely thrust upon him by selfish political opponents.

True to one of the most notable characteristics of his blood and race, when the civil war broke out he became a soldier under the banners of the Union, and as such he demonstrated in full measure that he was possessed of the fearless and martial spirit of his forbears who fought at Derry, at Aughrim, and on the Boyne.

At the close of the civil war Senator QUAY entered the political arena in his State. This was inevitable to one of his make-up, blood, and race. There were no more frontiers to be explored and conquered, no more wars to participate in—there was only one promising field to enter, in which the grinding and prosy tameness of our complicated industrial life did not prevail, in which the spirit and energy of the heroic mind could find vent and sphere, the realm of politics. Greater men than Senator QUAY have been creatures of this inevitable impulse

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and necessity. Abraham Lincoln was a lawyer, and for a brief time a soldier. His true spiritual affinity was in neither of these callings. He was restless, and found no opening for his energy and no rest for his spirit except in the political arena, and in this field he grew spiritually and intellectually, as he could not have grown in any other sphere, until he became one of the greatest and noblest characters inscribed on the pages of human history.

Unfortunately for Senator QUAY, when he entered the political arena in his State his party was then and for years had been divided into two factions, with more or less of the political rancor prevailing in such cases. Under such circumstances one has to take sides; he can not well remain neutral and be an active participant. And so it came to pass that Senator QUAY became, in a measure, the legatee of this division and rancor, and he was a victim of this legacy in one form or another to a greater or less extent during a large portion of his political career. But the opposition to him came mainly from a small coterie of politicians jealous of his energy and power, rather than from the masses of the people. How strong he was among them and what confidence they had in him appeared when he was the candidate of his party for State treasurer in 1885, when he received the largest majority ever given in his State for a State officer save once, when the Democratic party was divided. His opponents bitterly maligned him through the public press and otherwise. The attacks did him less harm at home and in his own State, where he was best known and understood, than abroad, but it can not be denied that in other States where he was not so well known the maligners had, to some extent, poisoned the public mind against him. I had myself acquired a faint taint of the virus when I entered this Chamber, but I had no sooner made the

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acquaintance of Senator QUAY and learned to know him as he really was and to understand his true worth as a man and as a legislator than I realized how utterly groundless were the charges of his enemies and how basely and wickedly they had maligned him. It is the lot and good fortune of some of our public men who enter the sea of politics to have smooth, calm, and unobstructed sailing from the first to last, while others less fortunate encounter, as it were, a very hurricane from the beginning and are seldom in placid waters. But the craft that outrides all storms and finally enters the harbor undismantled and shipshape is surely of as sound material and of as substantial make-up as the craft that never encounters a storm.

The strong, manly, and rugged character of Mr. QUAY never appeared to greater advantage than in meeting the attacks of his traducers. He bore with serene dignity and quiet stoicism the onslaughts of his political opponents, striking back or warding off a blow not with the blare of trumpets nor the beating of drums, but in a quiet, self-contained Cromwellian manner that won the respect if not the approval of his enemies. Yielding, mild-mannered, pliant, and drifting men encounter little strife and have few adversaries, while strong, rugged, aggressive, and progressive natures are never at rest, never lack enemies and traducers. Who had more vindictive and malevolent traducers in his lifetime than that foremost type of his race, Andrew Jackson? He outlived and confounded them all. And so has Senator QUAY outlived and confounded those who were ever blaming, ever belittling him. He had a long career and was a vigilant and potent factor in this body. Few wielded greater influence. "One is Allfather, but many are His messengers," said the great Swedish poet.

Two classes of men, each in its own peculiar way, bring about legislative results in this body. The one class, of few words,

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and little participating in debate, formulates and in committee digests, prepares, and reports measures, great and small, for the final action of the entire body; while the other class, prone to debate, elucidates with its oratory all the intricacies and mysteries of legislation. The latter class cuts a bigger figure on the public stage, fills more space in the Record and in the public press; is, as a rule, better known among the public outside of this Chamber, and by its oratory largely smooths the wheels of legislation and eliminates much of the prosiness that appertains thereto, and on the whole gives the public a better understanding of the same. The work of the former class, necessary and important as it may be, is, nevertheless, not so conspicuous, is less known to the public outside of this Chamber, though well known and appreciated here, occupies less space in the Record and in the press of the country, and is oftentimes less thankless.

Each of these classes is the complement and the necessity of the other, and it is the persistent and effective work of the two classes combined working as a harmonious whole that gives the nation the legislative results demanded and required for the welfare and the progress of our great, our progressive, and our ever-expanding country.

Senator QUAY was beyond all question one of the foremost members of the first-described of these classes. He was no orator in the common acceptation of the term. He was not without gifts as a debater, and yet few men in the Senate took less part in debate. But he was familiar with all the routine and detail of legislation, with the elements of our Constitution, and with the nature and scope of our Government and its history. He knew the temper and could measure the wants and aspirations of the American people. He brought his vigorous and trained mind, with untiring spirit and energy, to bear,

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especially in committee work, upon the manifold and various problems of legislation that confront Congress. He could almost intuitively and instantaneously distinguish and separate the bad from the good, the chaff from the grain, the dross from the gold. Few, if any, had a keener judgment or one less prone to err. He was a man of action rather than of words. He could plan and formulate a line of public policy with a wisdom and prudence excelled by few, and having adopted the same, he had the rare faculty, in a high degree, of organizing and leading parliamentary support in its behalf.

A measure may be carefully framed, thoroughly considered and prepared in committee, and duly supported in debate, and be intrinsically valuable and important, and yet it needs something more to successfully steer it through the halls of legislation. It needs organized, quiet, and persistent work from mouth to ear to remove the prejudice and dispel the ignorance that is not amenable to the efforts of the orator; and in this work, so often requisite and needed, no one excelled Senator QUAY. In quiet chats with his legislative associates he impressed upon them and convinced them of the wisdom and the necessity of the measure in hand; in other words, he was the master of both the strategy and the tactics of wise and successful legislation. It is oftentimes as much the duty of a good legislator to fearlessly defeat bad measures as it is to vigorously press good ones. And in this task Senator QUAY was never a laggard, never backward, never halting. If he was convinced that a measure was vicious and bad, he never hesitated in putting his heel on it. He was at all times the true and most effective helpmeet of the parliamentary orator—the staff on which he leaned, and without which his periods would oftentimes yield but empty echoes. He was not prodigal of promises, but ever prodigal in keeping faith and in loyalty to his friends and supporters.

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He was a man of plain tastes and quiet, unassuming manners, as becomes a man of ability and real worth. His lot was cast in that world of unfeeling and tempestuous politics which we often criticise and deplore, but which we are loath to keep aloof from or eschew. There is a charm in the very odor and vision of a political battle that enthralls and assuages the pains of the wounds inflicted. He was so completely victorious in his last political combat that even his enemies became prone to forgive and forget.

And when so victorious, as ever in all his strife, he did not exult over the vanquished, but calmly and serenely seemed to say to them:

> Here's a sigh to those who love me,
> And a smile to those who hate;
> And whatever sky's above me,
> Here's a heart for every fate.

He died in the seventy-first year of his life, after nearly fifty years in the public service, loved by his friends and respected by his adversaries; at peace with all the world and with his God; the great son of a great Commonwealth that will cherish his memory as one of the bravest, most fearless, and most loyal of all her great sons.

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Address of Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri.

Mr. President: Again the Senate of the United States, in the midst of the pressing and onerous labors of the last session of the Fifty-eighth Congress, lays aside its legislative duties to pay its tribute of respect, friendship, and honor to the memory of Hon. Matthew Stanley Quay, late a Senator in this Chamber from the State of Pennsylvania, who died at his home in Beaver on the evening of May 28, 1904.

He was born at Dillsburg, York County, Pa., on September 30, 1833.

His ancestors had lived in that State since 1715. His father was a distinguished Scotch-Irish clergyman. He was named for Gen. Matthew Stanley, an eminent citizen of Brandywine Manor. He graduated with distinction from Washington and Jefferson College at the age of 17.

After graduation he traveled, taught school, lectured, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854; was appointed prothonotary of Beaver County in 1855, and elected in 1856 and again in 1859. From this time on to the day of his death he was an active participant in all State and national affairs, and was a loyal and stanch adherent during the civil war to the integrity of the Union. He was a lieutenant in the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves; was colonel of the One hundred and thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers; was lieutenant-colonel and assistant commissary-general of his State; was military secretary to the famous war governor, Curtin, 1861–1865. He proved his personal courage on the battlefield through the fierce carnage at Fredericksburg after his resignation as colonel of his regiment had been sent in, and was complimented in general

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orders for his conspicuous gallantry and awarded a medal for his bravery.

He was a member of his State legislature from 1865 to 1867; secretary of the Commonwealth, 1872–1878; recorder of the city of Philadelphia and chairman of the Republican State committee, 1878–79 and 1902–3; was again secretary of the Commonwealth, 1879–1882; a delegate at large to the national conventions of 1872, 1876, and 1880; was elected State treasurer in 1885, and a member of the Republican national committee and chosen chairman in 1888, and conducted the successful Presidential campaign of that year in the election of Benjamin Harrison as President. He was a delegate to the Republican national conventions of 1892, 1896, and 1900, and was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed Hon. John I. Mitchell, and took his seat in this Chamber on March 4, 1887; was reelected in 1893, and was defeated in 1899 for reelection by a deadlock throughout the session of the legislature, and was appointed by the governor of his State to fill the vacancy caused by the failure of the legislature to elect, but his appointment was not recognized by the Senate.

On the day his appointment was rejected by the Senate he was nominated to be his own successor by the Republican State convention, and was reelected January 15, 1901, by a vote of a majority in each house, receiving a total of 130 votes to 118 votes for other aspirants, and took his seat here on January 17, 1901. His term would have expired on March 3, 1905. In the Senate Colonel QUAY rendered valuable service on many important committees. His life was unique and remarkable. Although a semiinvalid physically during a large portion of his public career, his life was a strenuous one, under high tension, sufficient, apparently, to have worn out the most robust health.

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His hold on power in a great State like Pennsylvania through so many contests—State and national—and for so many years was most wonderful.

He had a genius for party organization and management, and was recognized as one of the most successful political managers in the country. He was cool, self-possessed, resourceful in expedients, holding his forces thoroughly in hand; unquailing under opposition or criticism, diplomatic in avoiding the impracticable and the unwise, tactful in healing breaches, strong in political strategy, and skilled in party management. He doubtless made mistakes, but he was quick in countermovements to overcome their effects. Napoleon made mistakes and met his Waterloo. QUAY made mistakes, but he triumphed over them and went down only before the unconquerable foe of human life—death.

My first personal acquaintance with Colonel QUAY was when he entered the Senate in 1887. Our personal relations were pleasant and agreeable.

He was sociable, kind, ever ready to do any friendly act, easily approachable, gentle in bearing and manner and drew his friends closely to him, and was invincible when personally appealing to the people.

He was a great reader, and was well informed on all public questions, was fond of his valuable library, and was a ripe scholar and well versed in all branches of literature. His strong hold on the people of his State was made most manifest by the attendance at his burial—at Beaver—and by the expressions of sorrow, sympathy, and friendly remembrance and devotion.

Since I entered this Senate, on the 4th day of March, 1875, this is the thirty-ninth time that the Senate has been called

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to pay just tribute to the memory of Senators who have died while members of the Senate. Senator QUAY was the thirty-eighth Senator, in point of time, who so died, the distinguished and venerable Senator Hoar, from Massachusetts, being the thirty-ninth and last one. Their names and the times of their deaths are as follows:

Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, died July 31, 1875, during the recess.

Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Orris S. Ferry, of Connecticut, died November 21, 1875, during the recess.

Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Allen T. Caperton, of West Virginia, died July 26, 1876, during the session.

Forty-fifth Congress, first session, Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, died November 1, 1877, during the session.

Forty-fifth Congress, second session, Lewis V. Bogy, of Missouri, died September 20, 1877, during the recess.

Forty-sixth Congress, second session, Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, died November 1, 1879, during the recess.

Forty-sixth Congress, second session, George S. Houston, of Alabama, died December 31, 1879, during the holiday recess.

Forty-sixth Congress, third session, Matthew H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, died February 24, 1881, during the session.

Forty-seventh Congress, first session, Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island, died August 13, 1881, during the recess.

Forty-seventh Congress, second session, Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, died August 16, 1882, during the recess.

Forty-eighth Congress, second session, Henry B. Anthony, of Rhode Island, died September 2, 1884, during the recess.

Forty-ninth Congress, first session, John F. Miller, of California, died March 8, 1886, during the session.

Forty-ninth Congress, second session, Austin F. Pike, of New Hampshire, died October 8, 1886, during the recess.

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Forty-ninth Congress, second session, John A. Logan, of Illinois, died December 26, 1886, during the holiday recess.

Fifty-first Congress, first session, James B. Beck, of Kentucky, died May 3, 1890, during the session.

Fifty-first Congress, second session, Ephraim K. Wilson, of Maryland, died February 24, 1891, during the session.

Fifty-first Congress, second session, George Hearst, of California, died February 28, 1891, during the session.

Fifty-second Congress, first session, Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, died December 20, 1891, during the session.

Fifty-second Congress, first session, John S. Barbour, of Virginia, died May 14, 1892, during the session.

Fifty-second Congress, second session, Randall L. Gibson, of Louisiana, died December 15, 1892, during the session.

Fifty-second Congress, second session, John E. Kenna, of West Virginia, died January 11, 1893, during the session.

Fifty-third Congress, first session, Leland Stanford, of California, died June 21, 1893, during the recess.

Fifty-third Congress, second session, Alfred Holt Colquitt, of Georgia, died March 26, 1894, during the session.

Fifty-third Congress, second session, Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, died April 14, 1894, during the session.

Fifty-third Congress, second session, Francis B. Stockbridge, of Michigan, died April 30, 1894, during the session.

Fifty-fifth Congress, first session, Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, died July 8, 1897, during the session.

Fifty-fifth Congress, first session, Joseph H. Earle, of South Carolina, died May 20, 1897, during the session.

Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, James Z. George, of Mississippi, died August 14, 1897, during the recess.

Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, Edward C. Walthall, of Mississippi, died April 21, 1898, during the session.

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Fifty-fifth Congress, third session, Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, died December 28, 1898, during the holiday recess.

Fifty-sixth Congress, first session, Monroe L. Hayward, of Nebraska, died December 5, 1899, before qualifying.

Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, John Henry Gear, of Iowa, died July 14, 1900, during the recess.

Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, died November 27, 1900, during the recess.

Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, James H. Kyle, of South Dakota, died July 1, 1901, during the recess.

Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, William J. Sewell, of New Jersey, died December 27, 1901, during the holiday recess.

Fifty-seventh Congress, second session, James McMillan, of Michigan, died August 10, 1902, during the recess.

Fifty-eighth Congress, second session, Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, died February 15, 1904, during the session.

Fifty-eighth Congress, third session, Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, died May 28, 1904, during the recess.

Fifty-eighth Congress, third session, George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts, died September 30, 1904, during the recess.

Senator QUAY has been very much missed from this Chamber, where his views and opinions were appreciated and given due weight. In all the relations of life—as son, husband, father, citizen, soldier, and public official—he was kind, gentle, generous, and true. To his faithful and devoted wife and children his death is an irreparable loss. To them we extend condolence and sympathy.

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Address of Mr. Morgan, of Alabama.

Mr. President: The Senate of the United States has a broader foundation of governing power than any political body in the world. In legislation it is the consort and equal of the House of Representatives. It is the immediate representative, with the House, of all the people, and shares with it in this power and in its responsibilities to the people, who supply and sustain and execute their powers of sovereignty through these tribunals, by elections conducted and controlled by the States.

The people of the United States have, in addition to the rights, duties, and powers of citizenship, the sovereign right to rule in all the functions and through the instrumentalities of government.

They constituted the Senate and conferred upon it this co-ordinate power of representation in lawmaking, and of protecting their rights and liberties within the domestic circle of the Union.

They also extended these powers to all the wide field of foreign affairs and relations; and to insure uniformity, justice, and safety in our intercourse with foreign powers they surrendered to the Federal Government this highest attribute of sovereignty which belonged to each State that formed the Union, and so guarded its exercise that no treaty or binding obligation could be made by their diplomatic agents without the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. And these sovereign States consented that such treaties should be the supreme law of the land, and that they should supersede and annul their constitutions and their laws when in conflict with them.

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The sovereign people also conferred upon the Senate the right to confirm or reject all appointments to office, on the nomination of the President, leaving the Senate as free to reject his selections as the President is to make them.

The sovereign people also conferred upon the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, the power to expel from office any person holding civil office under the Government of the United States, without respect to its dignity or grade, upon conviction by the Senate of high crimes or misdemeanors in office.

The sovereign people also conferred upon the Senate a permanent organization, without lapse or provision for periodical renewal of its powers; and held its parliamentary control and the right to settle a tie vote in the hands of their chosen agent, the Vice-President of the United States, who is not a Senator, and is the only officer chosen by the people who has the right to participate in legislation.

And distributing the powers of Senators equally among the States, without respect of their areas or population, the people gave to each State an equal suffrage in the Senate and provided that the equipoise should never be disturbed by an amendment of the Constitution.

The sovereign people also gave to the Senate, acting concurrently with the House of Representatives, the exclusive right to submit proposed amendments of the Constitution to the legislatures of the States for their action and the calling of conventions to consider amendments to the Constitution proposed in a certain form. And they also gave the House the exclusive right to declare war and the exclusive right to admit States into the Union.

Every day since the Constitution was ordained and the Government of the United States was established the Senate has been in full organization. Its membership has always been

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ready to perform all its duties, and it has witnessed the coming in and going out of Presidents and Cabinets and Houses of Representatives and of the millions who compose the entourage of political parties, and the exigencies of foreign and domestic wars without the slightest change in its organization or the loss of any of the powers conferred upon it by the sovereign people.

No aggregation of public trusts and powers equals this in its importance, its breadth, its permanency, and its responsibilities. It is only excelled by the majesty of the power of a great, free, independent, and self-governing people, whose sovereignty ordained the Constitution, who protected their own liberties under a written charter and their peace and prosperity by requiring everyone, high or low, to obey the laws. They bound their representatives by an oath of office, which is all the security they could exact from their servants.

A Senator who contemplates the powers thus intrusted to him by such a people and is conscious of the pledge he has given to do his duty in obedience to the Constitution and the laws must feel a sense of incapacity that needs more than human help. He must realize a weight of responsibility that will sober his judgment and dispel his prejudices, and he must regard the honor of the trust confided to him and its faithful performance as far exceeding in value any achievements that may be due to extraordinary genius or to towering ambition.

In speaking of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, if I were moved by the affection of long and intimate friendship I could not give him higher praise than to say that he performed the duty of an American Senator during a long service with faithful devotion and with such ability as has left on the records of the Senate most valuable proofs of efficient service to the country.

I need not attempt to present a résumé of the prominent measures with which he was connected in his course in the

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Senate. They include the whole great field of Congressional action. He made no pretensions to the arts of oratory that are so pleasing and so powerful in riveting the attention of the multitude on the spectacular features of hotly contested debate. He went deeper into matters of real consequence and did not stop to polish and put in glittering settings the gems that his delivery brought to light. It may be truthfully said that no important matter escaped his attention and his careful examination, and no public danger was presented that could escape his alert detection or drive him from his post of duty.

I do not recall an instance in which he was not an important party to the settlement of contentions that concerned the welfare of the country, and I never knew him to attempt anything except the honorable reconciliation of those who were rash, angry, or obstinate in their contentions. I have in mind some notable instances when his courage and forbearance and his genius for reconciliation saved measures and men from disastrous consequences.

I feel bound in duty to his memory, as a southern Senator, to refer to such interposition for the sake of justice and peace, and not to win applause, in which he has justly won the gratitude of the people of the South. I refer to the measure known as the "force bill," which came over from the House and was discussed at great length and with bitterness in the Senate. I have heard that the distinguished author of that measure is satisfied that it was a mistaken policy, else I would not refer to it over the tomb of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, that needs peace and rest for the nurture of the immortelles that will surely grow upon it. Mr. QUAY, at the critical moment, informed us of his purpose to displace that bill by a vote to take up another measure, and it was done.

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No deeper sighs of relief ever came from human hearts than were given by millions of people in gratitude to God for a great deliverance that was moved by this action of a quiet, determined, and generous man, who sought no reward or praise for a simple act of manly friendship to a noble people. No heart in the South that is conscious of these facts will ever be embittered against the memory of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

Mr. QUAY came to the Senate from the great State of Pennsylvania, for many years the citadel of the Democratic party. He had been a prime factor in its change of political situation, and his leadership was resented there and in the South. He was classed, without sufficient reason, among the men who had violated the capitulation of Lee and Grant, and had waged a war of depredation in the South through political machinery, with the negro race as the driving power. I take pleasure in expressing in these obsequies my dissent to those unjust impeachments.

Mr. QUAY had rapidly grown into power in Pennsylvania and had spread his branches in the sunshine of veteran oaks that had long towered over the hills. Such intruders are not often welcome, nor do they always escape detraction. The South heard these criticisms and too eagerly gave credence to them. I had heard them and had no way to ascertain their value.

When he intimated to me his wish to take the place of his predecessor as my Senatorial pair I was reluctant because of impressions I had received from clamors by some of his political associates, and made inquiry of a Democratic friend in the Senate who had been his college mate. He still survives, and few that live are more grieved at the death of Mr. QUAY, in the zenith of his usefulness. He said, "I know

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QUAY well, and I have never known a truer or more manly and reliable man, and few that are more accomplished."

We were paired in voting in the Senate during his entire service, and he honorably kept his pair.

Although we were friends in a very pleasing sense, we never conferred about movements and conditions in the Senate, and never had a business transaction with each other.

I admired him because he wore the blue when I wore the gray, and he did not think that I was a traitor, nor did I think he was a mercenary oppressor and adventurer. When he needed rest he sought the savannas and seaboard of the South, regaled himself with its rich fruits, and sought recreation in fishing for tarpon—the silver king of southern seas. He loved nature, and such men do not usually love evil.

I was never his guest, though his hospitable home was generously open and was a favorite resort for our people.

I note these matters as showing the real man as he stood in the light of disinterested friendship and in the view of people who scanned him with close scrutiny.

In his character of Senator and friend he was true and blameless, and has won for himself a fame that will grow greater and better as time advances. If these tests are not sufficient to establish the reputation of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY on an enduring basis I know not where to look for a broader or more solid foundation for the posthumous reputation of any man.

Mr. QUAY had eminent abilities in the conduct of public affairs. He was so modest in his demeanor and cared so little for public display that it was surprising that he had a wish to be in public life. But he had what are termed "reserved forces" that few men possess, and his power to control men

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by his quiet presence and the subdued expression of his will was extraordinary.

He was small in stature and his bearing was quiet and unpretending, but his step was firm and was the expression of great will power. His decisions were prompt and conclusive, so that he impressed intelligent observers as a man of high purpose and forceful and intrepid action.

There are many, very many, poor people that knew him better than the proud or the great—knew him for his benefactions. He held the silence of true charity in his almsgiving. Those whom he cared for thanked him with silent tears of gratitude, in which was mirrored the light of God's approving smile. In these little pathways of light there was a correspondence with the infinite. Its pathway may have been shadowed as our way is shadowed, with a multitude of evils or even of sins, but the approving smile still found its way to his heart and cheered it when all else may have been dark.

When the Master healed the paralytic Gallilean, he said: "See thou tell no man; but go thy way."

This giver did not publish his loving charity toward the poor, except in his votes in the Senate. There it was always abundantly shown, not for the sake of praise, but for the sake of duty, especially toward the Indian tribes.

If good deeds, done without ostentation, are evidence of a living faith, Mr. QUAY has many proofs of his right to rest and peace.

> The storm of life has softened to a breeze
> That gently woos the lilies on his grave;
> No more of shipwreck, or of angry seas!
> God give him rest! Rest for the true and brave.

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Address of Mr. Platt, of New York.

Mr. Penrose. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. Platt], who is unavoidably absent, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks which he had intended to make to the Senate upon this occasion be inserted in the Record as a part of the proceedings.

The Presiding Officer. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and leave is granted.

Mr. President: Others more familiar with Mr. Quay's public life and more competent to proclaim his signal public achievements have told us the story of his political career. It is a story which, while of commanding, not to say thrilling, interest, is a matter of more or less common knowledge. My purpose will be to touch briefly upon some of the underlying qualities of his life and to emphasize those characteristics to which, in my estimation, is attributable in large measure his ability to overcome obstacles and to accomplish the results for which he is justly famous in the annals of American political history.

The value of a human life can not be measured by concrete achievement alone. Each life carries its inspiration to humanity, and if there be any more significance in these memorial proceedings than an indication of desire to pay respectful tribute to the memory of beloved associates, it must be in the fact that there are here held up to view those human traits and qualities which inspire emulation.

It is doubtless true that the qualities more readily recognized by the superficial observer are not necessarily those which are dominant in any life; are not the qualities that denote the

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peculiar value of a life. It is quite possible we may discover in the character of Mr. QUAY obscure qualities that gave his life its significance.

My relations with our departed colleague, contrary to the general belief, were intermittent rather than continuous, and were political rather than intimately personal. Yet during these infrequent and casual relationships I came to entertain for him respect as a man and admiration as a political leader. He impressed me as being both courageous and versatile, and it seemed as though his courage and versatility enabled him to seize upon a situation, whatever its complications, and to bear it and his cause and himself into the realm of success. He was a born political general, who could make a political campaign with the most meager facilities, without commissary, and win through sheer ability and marvelous forcefulness. We have many times known the opulent elements, the powerful corporations, of his State to be aligned against him, when he has fearlessly gone to the people, as he has expressed it, to "carry the fiery cross over the State." The people's hearts, responding to the touchstone of his being, gave him ever the majorities he sought. And herein resides an element with which the chronicler of this life must reckon. He had deep feeling himself and was not the cold, distant, grim-visaged man he appeared to be. A great student of human nature, he could approach any man, high or low, on his vulnerable side and gain a hearing and inspire friendship. As a political general he possessed that clairvoyant ability to detect the weak points in his own and his enemies' lines, to strengthen his own and storm those of the enemy. He was not averse to fighting, and it is quite possible he maintained his political strength by constantly going to the source of all strength—to the people—renewing his acquaintance with them and their affection for him. Certain it is that his political philosophy

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predicated utility in contest, for he has often said that annual elections keep political parties strong and are wholesome for a State and a nation, bringing people close to, and enabling them to maintain an interest in, those questions vitally affecting their own welfare. I would not say that Mr. QUAY deliberately sought contest, but when encountered he found in it a source of party and personal political strength.

The man who makes a success of political leadership or wide administration is not necessarily the man who is concerned too closely with matters of detail. Detail may frequently becloud judgment, as dust caught by the wind and moved from its natural location may obscure vision. Mr. QUAY, however, impressed me as being the exception proving the rule in this respect, for he had within his grasp the most minute detail of the complicated party machinery of his State. He planned his campaigns with great wisdom, never mustering his forces without feeling assured that he possessed the requisite votes; and if as a result of his estimate he appeared to lack those votes, he would proceed intelligently to gain them. He was a man of great tenacity of purpose. He never wasted effort upon chimera and never suffered delusion to possess his mind; but he never abandoned the effort to accomplish any object upon which his judgment had favorably passed. If the means of its accomplishment were not apparent, its achievement was discreetly deferred, though always kept in view. His intellect was ever employed in weighing probability and possibility, in shaping one set of conditions to fit some other set of conditions apparently remote; and in the intermingling of many unrelated processes he frequently found the possibility of successfully working out cherished hopes. His was an active, tenacious intellect, constantly engaged in storing up resource from which he might draw in the furtherance of his vigilant activities.

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Mr. QUAY'S last election to membership of this body is not so remote an event as to have passed from our recollections. We who comprehend the intricacies of such contests, who recognize their complexities and the degree of finesse requisite in attaining success in such an undertaking, can not fail to discover in Mr. QUAY a political analyst of the first rank. One instance tending to illustrate his original genius as a political general as well as his ability as an organizer came under my personal observation at the time he, as chairman of the Republican national committee, conducted the campaign for the election of a Republican President in 1888. With his headquarters in the city of New York, he was brought into immediate contact with the methods and operations of Tammany Hall. So practical a politician was he that we who were in direct charge of the campaign in that State were not only saved the loss of energy so frequently incurred in combating academic methods in conducting national campaigns, but were able to readily convince him of the necessity of meeting desperate opposition with forceful means. At that time the machinery of the municipal government in New York City was completely in the hands of adherents of Tammany Hall, who were by no means scrupulous in their exercise of power. Mr. QUAY, under the guise of acquiring data for the compilation of a new city directory, in the operation of which his name and personality were wholly concealed, secured possession not only of the voting lists of the city of New York, but, as had long been suspected, the information that Tammany had thousands of fraudulent names registered for use on election day. At the proper time, to Tammany Hall Mr. QUAY sent this message:

I have the names of the bona fide voters of every election district in New York. If any fraud is attempted on election day, we are not only in position to detect it, but we will see to it that the guilty go to prison.

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Confusion reigned in the ranks of his enemies, who became forthwith thoroughly demoralized and disheartened. The result was that the Democratic majority in New York City that year was kept at a low point, and the State of New York, whose electoral vote was necessary to elect a President, was secured to the candidate whose cause he so fearlessly and intelligently espoused.

Turning to other things, he possessed great political and personal chivalry, not only toward friends, but enemies as well. He was true to his friendships whenever it was possible, and yet he was always making peace and taking into his fold any possible recruits either from a new field or from the camp of old enmities.

Those who knew Mr. QUAY more intimately than I tell us he was an omnivorous reader; that he reveled in classical literature; that he was never so happy as when in his library, surrounded by the books he loved. Those of us who engage in practical politics and are ever distracted by the activities of business and political life realize the need of the regeneration of vital faculty that can never be better attained than in communion with the best thought of the ages. I fancy much of the superb self-possession and poise that distinguished Mr. QUAY'S life came through some such mediumship as this.

Mr. President, when we hold up to critical inspection a character exhibiting the qualities of which I have spoken—qualities of courage, versatility, resourcefulness, strong feeling, high thinking, and the ability to make and retain friendships—we have performed a service to mankind, since their contemplation carries inspiration and bespeaks emulation in the minds and hearts of men.

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Address of Mr. Knox, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. President: I am informed that the custom of the Senate permits, and my inclination surely impels me, before moving an adjournment of the Senate as an additional mark of respect for the distinguished dead, to add a brief word of eulogy, which I will limit to the relations in which I knew Senator Quay and in which I knew him well.

We have listened with profound interest and gratification to Senators who have feelingly and eloquently described and illustrated the manly qualities, the striking characteristics, the dominant political tone, and the public services of the remarkable man to whose memory this service is devoted.

Senators have spoken from personal knowledge and that peculiar affection between men which comes from long service in the affairs and trials of public life.

I knew Senator Quay for a shorter period and less intimately on that side. His gifts as a born leader of men; his eminent services to the nation, the State of Pennsylvania, and his party; his mastership of the art of statecraft and political finesse; and his magnificent strategy and courage, which on more than one occasion turned threatened defeat into victory in struggles of great national consequence, need no further tribute from me.

Though Senator Quay at times conspicuously suffered from that intolerable thing which it seems the public servant must endure—intentional misunderstanding and persistent misrepresentation—his just fame is now beyond the reach of the cheap detraction which assailed his life but can not obscure his real career and character.

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MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY came of that strong Scotch-Irish stock which constituted one-third of the population of our country at the time of the Revolution, which has added so much to the greatness of this nation, and which in Pennsylvania grew and throve along the hills of the Cumberland Valley and beyond to the Monongahela and Ohio.

His youth was passed in the atmosphere and inheritance of those intellectual and moral ideas his race has drawn from the capable brains and patient and courageous hearts of their fathers. Conscientiousness, independence, and resistance to aggression made them what they were and brought them across the sea to the new opportunities of a new world. Out of such evolution came the wit and the resourcefulness, the steady mind, and the strong, composed heart of the leader which were characteristics of Mr. QUAY. He was kindly and affectionate, tender in his domestic relations; loyal and helpful to his friends, cherishing and valuing them always; and most genial in his quiet way. Grateful for a service, he was prompt to reciprocate. He volunteered helpfulness without ostentation; his heart and conscience alike expressed a large charitableness, and under a cool exterior his sympathies were quickly and deeply moved. His days were full of "little nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love."

Like all men possessing leadership, he was a fighter, and he fought a fight to the end; but when it was over, it was over in all ways. He was not vindictive; one of his most notable characteristics was his magnanimity. Throughout the many political hostilities of his State career close personal friendships involved in them survived almost untouched, and, if at all impaired, were finally and fully reestablished.

Senator QUAY was known to his friends and intimates as a man of the most extensive acquaintance with the literature

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of his language and of large acquirements in the knowledge of books. The classic literature of England, the great books of history, the biographies of renowned men were all familiar to him.

He was versed in Egyptology, had studied profoundly all that pertains to that great domain of learning, and was a student of that delightful branch of literature devoted to the mythology of the Norsemen. In history he was deeply read, and it was his custom after an arduous day to take up the ancient histories of Greece and Rome and quiet his mind and prepare himself for rest by conversing with the great characters of the past.

To a fine classical education, acquired in his youth by earnest study, he had added in the long years of reading and research a mass of knowledge that made him an accurate scholar.

His taste for politics, his constant association with men of affairs, kept him keenly interested in all those things that make life interesting and kept him from becoming in any sense a recluse. His knowledge of the world—of the business and men of the world—so modified his wide and profound acquisitions from books that he was broad, scholarly, tolerant, and companionable.

It was delightful to sit with him when he was inclined to converse on some great book or some great branch of literature, and to listen to his perspicuous judgment of topics and their treatment.

Senator QUAY loved his home, his family, his friends, his books, and nature. No man ever really knew him who did not know him in relation to those things he valued most.

It was in this way of personal acquaintance and private friendship that I knew Senator QUAY best and longest. I

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valued this relation to him and, like so many other men in and out of his own State, realized the attractive combination in his character of the elements of manly courage and warmth of heart.

In my last conversation with him, but a few days prior to his death, he manifested by detaining look and gesture the yearning for human sympathy and companionship to which I have referred; and yet, in speaking of his rapidly approaching death, he harked back to the wild in his wish that he could go to the Maine woods and die, like an old gray wolf, upon a lonely rock. This was neither hopelessness nor defiance; it was simply the instinct of a brave man to meet his fate in the open and face to face; to confront death knowingly and with courageous equanimity.

Mr. PRESIDENT, I offer the following resolution, which I desire to have read at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania offers a resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 20, 1905, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE.

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Parkinson, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret of the death of Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the two Senators whose deaths have just been announced the Senate do now adjourn.

DEATH OF SENATOR QUAY.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, a Senator of the United States from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memories of the late Senators QUAY and HOAR the House do now adjourn.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the families of the deceased Senators.

The resolution was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 52 minutes) the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

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JANUARY 27, 1905.

MEMORIAL SERVICES, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

Mr. ADAMS, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 19, at noon, be set aside for memorial services in honor of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that Sunday, the 19th of February, at noon, be set aside for memorial services in honor of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania. Is there objection?

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES.

SUNDAY, *February 19, 1905.*

The House was called to order at 12 o'clock noon by William J. Browning, Chief Clerk, who announced that the Speaker had designated the Hon. John Dalzell as Speaker pro tempore for this day.

Mr. Dalzell took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, for this great Republic of ours, with its phenomenal growth, its magnificent achievements which challenge the admiration of the world. And we are reminded that under Thee the greatness of any nation depends upon the greatness of its people, and that in turn upon the opportunities afforded by the nation to the individual for the unfolding and development of the elements which constitute greatness. We thank Thee, therefore, for an open Bible, the free school, the freedom of the press and speech, and the freedom of worshiping Thee, O God, according to the dictates of conscience.

And we are reminded of that long line of illustrious men and patriots who conceived our nation and who have shaped its policies and made possible its destiny, and we are here to-day to measure the greatness of one of our nation's soldiers, scholars, and statesmen, who, by his great foresight, energy, and perseverance, filled to the full measure every position imposed upon him by his countrymen. Long may his memory live, and longer yet his deeds inspire those who shall come

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after him with true nobility of soul, high ideals, and lofty purposes.

Grant, O God, our Heavenly Father, that these ceremonies held from time to time may be of such importance that all the Members and their families shall gather here, a tribute to the memory of those who have wrought and labored for the upbuilding of our nation and the support of its principles. Thus, O Heavenly Father, may we all pay a just tribute to our great men. In the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Clerk began to read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. ADAMS, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I move that the further reading of the Journal be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that the further reading of the Journal be dispensed with. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and without objection the Journal will be considered as approved.

There was no objection.

THE LATE SENATOR MATTHEW S. QUAY.

Mr. ADAMS, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, before proceeding, I ask unanimous consent that leave to print remarks relating to these ceremonies be granted to Members of the House for twenty days.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that leave to print remarks relating to the ceremonies upon the late Senator QUAY be granted for twenty days. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAMS, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

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The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That in pursuance of the special order hereinbefore adopted, the House proceed to pay tribute to the memory of Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his eminent abilities as a faithful and distinguished public servant, the House, at the conclusion of the memorial proceedings of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk be, and is hereby, instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

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Address of Mr. Adams, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: In rising to pay tribute to the man under whom I have served for twenty-two years, relying so largely on his judgment and his patriotism, I find it a moment of deep feeling on my part, fraught with the duties of this occasion. Matthew Stanley Quay was born in Dillsburg, York County, September 30, 1833. He was of Scotch-Irish ancestors, who settled in Chester County in 1715. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman, who settled in Beaver in 1840. He graduated from Washington and Jefferson College, Canonsburg, before he was 17 years of age, after which he traveled, taught school, and lectured. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854. Governor Pollock appointed him prothonotary of Beaver County in 1855, and he was elected to this office in 1856 and 1859.

We will remember that it was at this time that the country began to be agitated on the great questions which led to the civil war, and before the breaking out of that Senator Quay, moved by that spirit of patriotism which seems to have actuated his whole life, whether in civil or military affairs, joined what was known as the "Pennsylvania Reserves," receiving his commission as a lieutenant. He thereafter became the private secretary of the great war governor of Pennsylvania, who will go down in the history of our State as contributing as much, if not more, to the preservation of the Union than any other, ranking with those great war governors that have become so celebrated in the annals of our history. Not satisfied with remaining at home, when the call for troops came he was appointed colonel of

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the One hundred and thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers. After active service he was seized with typhoid fever, and under physician's instructions was obliged to send in his resignation, and there is, perhaps, no act that shows the characteristics of this man more strongly than the incident which took place at this period of his life. Reluctantly he left the front, knowing that our Army was about to advance on Fredericksburg. He volunteered as an aid on the staff of General Tyler and participated in the storming of Marye's Heights, which was one of the most distinguished assaults that was made during the civil war. Recognizing his executive abilities and the great demand in various ways of our noble sons of Pennsylvania who were at the front, the governor appointed him military agent at Washington to look after the needs and requirements of those gallant soldiers, where he remained until he returned to the State of Pennsylvania and became the military secretary of the Commonwealth, still serving under Governor Curtin.

Surely such a record from the beginning to the close of the war in the military service of his country is enough to satisfy the ambition of any man. In 1866 MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was elected to the legislature as a member from the Beaver-Washington district, and by that his political career began, which, for continued holding of power, in spite of vigorous political contests, has been unequaled in the annals of our history. Of all the men of national importance in political affairs none has exercised such absolute power in his own State for so long a time. In the broader field of national politics he was a leader of leaders. His counsel was sought and his judgment relied upon to such an extent that, although he had opposed the nomination of Benjamin Harrison in the convention, Mr. Harrison named him as chairman of the national committee to

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conduct the campaign; and in spite of all the prestige of Grover Cleveland and the more than doubtful outlook at the beginning, he caused the laurel of victory to perch on Republican standards, and Benjamin Harrison was elected President of the United States. In 1885 he was elected State treasurer, and in 1887 United States Senator.

Mr. Speaker, it is held that the Senate does not contain men of as great ability as those who attained fame there in the middle of the last century, and regret is also expressed that that body has no parliamentary rule of cloture, so that debate can be brought to an end and the issue determined by a vote in that body. In this commercial age of ours there are not the exciting and interesting questions which existed when the men lived who made their reputation in the Senate in defining the limitations of the Constitution, and in its inherent powers defining or trying to define what were the original intentions of the men who framed it. Upon such questions more enthusiasm could be aroused, oratory could have more weight, and the passions of men could be more easily applied in stirring up political turmoil. So, also, later, on the questions of the restraint or abolition of slavery the arguments of orators could appeal more strongly to the human passions, and greater reputations were made by the men who sustained those conflicts than by the men who now have to simply debate the questions of the material welfare of our country. But, sir, it is none the less to the happiness of the people and to the prosperity of the Republic that the men who now sit in the United States Senate have to deal more largely with these economic questions. Fortunately in this world of ours the strife of arms is being changed to the strife of commerce, and each question as it arises develops the men who are the best able to protect the interests of their own country. If there is one man who ever

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sat in the Senate of the United States to whom his own State and his country at large is indebted for the preservation of its commercial prosperity, I name him as MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, and in connection with the two criticisms which I have just cited as relating to the United States Senate. Representing Pennsylvania—which has been developed, as we all know, on the economic principle of protection—when the Wilson tariff bill was brought into Congress (the political complexion of the country having changed), the very lifeblood of the State which he represented being at stake, the welfare of the entire country, in Senator QUAY'S judgment, rested on the preservation of a tariff sufficient to protect her industries and products.

An historical scene took place in the United States Senate. Senator QUAY was there protecting the interests of Pennsylvania. He said he would exercise the parliamentary privilege which existed in that body, and he would talk until doomsday before he would allow the industries of this country to be ruined. When Senator Jones, the leader of the Democratic party, inquired of him how long he could talk, he said he had material under his desk for forty days and preparations making to occupy one hundred more, if necessary. Then, with that historical knowledge which he possessed to such a great extent, he made that clever turn, in which, when Senator Jones asked him his ultimatum—it was a curious fact that the woolen schedule ran from 40 to 54 per cent—and he, remembering the dispute between this country and Great Britain on the boundary line between the United States and Canada, on which issue the Tyler and Harrison Presidential campaign was fought, and the cry which went out throughout the land, remembering that cry and applying it to the woolen schedule, he said, "My ultimatum is 'fifty-four forty or fight.'"

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The political life of Senator QUAY has been a stormy one. But few men in public life have been more bitterly assailed or maligned than he was, even to the point of criminal prosecution in the courts. With twenty-two years of service under his leadership, enjoying his friendship and confidence, I say without hesitation or reserve, he was fair in all his intercourse with others, and the sacredness with which he kept his promised pledge was often the cause of some of his greatest difficulties in politics; but that faith unbroken with his followers often proved the tower of his strength that saved him from defeat.

His political methods have been criticised; but, like the great general that he was, he left no stone unturned to win success, and did not always halt at the means employed. But those who enjoyed the privilege of seeing Senator QUAY in his home are those best able to judge the man as he really was. Kind in disposition, a devoted husband, and an indulgent father, I have never seen where the family relations and ties were stronger than in the home of Senator QUAY. But ascend from the family drawing-room to his library and there you saw the man at his best. He was in his element; it was from the books that he learned that wisdom, knowledge of history, and that experience for which other men were in the habit of going to him when seeking advice; and they had learned to rely on his judgment to such an extent because he rarely ever erred when it was sought. But we who heard what was said in the Senate Chamber on yesterday know how highly he stood in the estimation of the country. In all the affairs of the nation and all political campaigns his counsel was sought and his judgment relied upon.

Senator QUAY as a man was one of the most faithful men I ever met. His friendship and confidence once gained, it took

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the strongest evidence of cause for distrust and even of guilt to lose. His word once pledged was as inviolable as it was possible for word to be kept.

As a political leader in Pennsylvania his method was always toward reconciliation. He was known in that State from one end to the other. His judgment was relied on, and he could do more to reconcile the differences than any one man among the leaders of that great State.

Another characteristic of Senator QUAY which is not often seen in public affairs was that after the contest was over his disposition was such that he never bore any resentment, but was always ready to talk over the differences that had existed.

We have heard a great deal more said outside of the State than in it about "bossism" in Pennsylvania politics. It is but another term, Mr. Speaker, for leadership. I can only speak of my own experience, which I think will refute any such charge against Senator QUAY.

In the twenty-two years that I have served under his leadership never but twice did he ask me to follow him in a matter of great importance. And the circumstances were such on those two occasions that I could not do it, and simply told him why. One of them, you will all recollect, was when the Senate and House differed on the question of the Cuban policy. I happened to be acting as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He called upon me to have my influence brought upon the House to agree with the Senate. I stated frankly to him that, holding the executive position of chairman of the committee, all I could do was to represent the views of the House. He at once saw the force of the statement, and acquiesced. And I can say historically that in the long time I have served in this House that was the only time the House had its own way against the Senate; but of course that

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was reenforced by the power and influence which President McKinley brought to bear on the question.

Mr. Speaker, a great man has gone from among us, and history will place MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY as one of the many able men that Pennsylvania has given to our great Republic to aid in its ever-increasing prosperity and increasing power among the nations of the earth.

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ADDRESS OF MR. SIBLEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: I desire on this occasion to join with my colleagues in offering some few words of tribute to the memory of one who played no small part in the affairs of our national life, and in Pennsylvania for a great many years was recognized as its leader of political thought and action. His passing from us is too recent to afford the opportunity of forming a just estimate of his value either to the State or to the nation. Those conditions which arise between the successful and the defeated, between the victor and the vanquished, leave their sting, and the memory of those contests still rankle and forbid that truer and juster estimate which will later be rendered by an impartial public.

That he was a great man, is my calm and deliberate judgment. I never knew him very well until within the last few years, and I must say that the better I knew him the higher appreciation I had of him. As has been said by my colleague, malice was foreign to his nature. I have seen him in some of his great contests, and even when disappointment and defeat were his, if he ever made an unkind remark of a political foeman, I have never heard it. When others were chiding he was either silent or had some kindly word in explanation of the action of those with whom he disagreed.

I do not know, Mr. Speaker, whether I will print this in the Record, but I was present on two occasions at his house, one on the day before the vote was taken in the Senate deciding whether, under the appointment of the governor, he was entitled to take his seat. In that library besides myself was a distinguished Senator, who has passed over to the other side of the dark river—one who had been one of the closest, warmest, and

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most intimate personal friends of Senator QUAY, though differing with him in political belief. The question was, What would be the vote in the Senate, and how would the different members of that body line up?

I kept the tally list and they decided, and going over the list carefully upon two different checkings it showed a majority for Senator QUAY of 2, which excluded the name of the Senator who sat with us. The next day the vote was taken, and that Senator voted "no." That Senator who loved QUAY as a brother felt constrained by a sense of public duty stronger than friendship.

I met Senator QUAY afterwards and he had no word of bitterness, but I believed then that he had received a harder blow than any political foeman had ever given him, and he then expressed to me—the first intimation I ever heard from him—the determination that with the close of the contest which should be a vindication of the unfair aspersions cast upon his character, with that reelection he should forever retire from public service, and that so far as he was able to control the action of those connected with him by ties of kindred, none of them should ever engage in public service. I think no disappointment that ever came to him came as did that one.

For a year or two after Senator QUAY took his seat in the Senate the relations between these two men were strained, but it was pleasing to the friends of both to notice in the last session these two men sitting together and that the bonds of true friendship that had been theirs through all the years of their service had been reestablished. Senator QUAY could honor the one who placed duty and fidelity in service of the public as the foremost of all human obligations. My opinion is, however, that with positions reversed QUAY would have stood by the friend.

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Perhaps it would not be out of place to recount another incident. It may be true; I do not know. It was a fugitive statement made some years since, attributed to Rudyard Kipling. He stated that he had been asked when in this country by the manager of a magazine in London to write up the great American political boss. He inquired who that political boss was, and he was told that it was Senator QUAY, and that his residence was Beaver, Pa. He took the train, went to Beaver, was directed to the home of Senator QUAY, and walked up to the residence. He saw a gentleman sitting on the piazza engaged in reading. He inquired for Senator QUAY and was told that it was Senator QUAY before him. They engaged in conversation and commenced commenting upon the book which Senator QUAY was reading, which drifted from that book and that author to other books and other authors.

Time slipped away rapidly until a pleasant-faced lady came out and announced tea, at which he received a very cordial invitation to join. He went into tea with them and afterwards was shown into a library such as he supposed was in but few homes of private citizens. As he went around among the books and got to discussing them with Senator QUAY, he became so interested that he did not notice the flight of time until he heard the clock chime 11.

He made his apologies, took his departure, but before doing so asked if he might have the privilege of again calling on the following day, having in mind the accomplishment of the errand on which he had come.

Upon the following day he called and they again drifted into questions of literature, until the pleasant-faced lady again came out and announced tea. Then, recognizing that his opportunity had escaped, he excused himself to the

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hostess, made his apologies, and bade the Senator good-by. He went to the station and telegraphed the manager:

I have been unable to locate the political boss, but if you desire an article upon America's foremost literary critic, I can furnish you with the copy.

That QUAY was a great student and linguist would be to the average man who reads the American newspapers and forms his opinion of the political boss something of a surprise, but I have never known or had the pleasure of associating with any individual who had a richer or riper knowledge of the great masters of thought through all the ages than that possessed by Senator QUAY.

If there was in my mind a fugitive couplet or verse, the author of which I could not recall; if there was the saying of some great master thinker and I could not place the author, there were two men in Washington to whom I would go. One was Senator QUAY; and the other Mr. Spofford, of the Congressional Library. They were the two men who could tell you the author and where you would find the verse or the paragraph which you had in your mind.

We are here to offer our tokens of esteem and to express the hope that even now in our memory of him we shall render that fair and impartial judgment which will yet be accorded to him as his just deserts. He may have had his human errors, his weaknesses, his frailties, for they are incident to our frame; but he had an offset for each frailty one grand and prominent virtue. If his political methods at times may have seemed arbitrary, there was a kindliness of spirit and an absence of malice in him, with a judgment and conception for the human weal, which led him to assume his position. If he had weaknesses, what man has not? But against that weakness stands his devotion to friends and his love of truth which made his promise as sacred as oath or bond.

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Mr. Speaker, I hope that it may be mine and the gift of all of us to be able to exercise that same broad charity, that kindly impulse, which was manifested by him in all his public services at the other end of this Capitol, a charity and a sense of justice which crossed the central aisle of the Senate Chamber and made all men his friends, true, loyal, and generous, and compelled respect. In a great body like that at the other end of the Capitol, or in a great body like this at this end of the Capitol, the Members accord to each man in the long run about that place which he deserves.

The general average of estimate will not be manifestly unjust, and it has been given to few men in public life to command so universally the confidence, the friendship, and the respect that was accorded to Senator QUAY by the men with whom he served. Others here and elsewhere have paid eloquent tribute to his memory and have recounted his public service. It is enough for me to say that his was a busy life—a life spent in the arena of public affairs. His sword was seldom in its scabbard. His blows were many and the names of the vanquished legion. So far as I know he never struck unfairly. Blow upon blow, stroke upon stroke he received in return, but neither wince nor moan came from him.

When I knew him best his personal battles were about over, and he was sage and philosopher rather than warrior, but that the memory of blows given and blows received remained is indicated and the charitable judgment of all men invoked in the request which to me seems so pathetic, that the simple stone which marks his last earthly resting place should bear the words "Implora pacem" (pray for peace).

Peace to his ashes, peace to his soul, honor for his memory, and gratitude for such services to his State and nation as make for the peace and happiness of mankind.

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Address of Mr. Grosvenor, of Ohio.

Mr. Speaker: I come here with no word of prepared eulogy. However, I beg to present a few thoughts upon the topic of the life and character of Senator Quay. I did not know him personally and intimately, as others who have spoken did. I knew him mainly as the public knew him. I think in large part I may say I knew him in his private and more intimate character as the newspapers knew him—that is, I did not know him at all. To use a modern expression, he was always on the firing line of political battle; and the term "boss," which is so grossly misapplied in the discussion of American politics, from the standpoint in which it is usually used, would apply to him preeminently. But when you come to analyze what it takes to make a boss, when you study the men who have risen to that position in the newspaper estimation, you generally find a man of fine discernment of political questions, having a great knowledge of human character, and a profound believer in organization.

A few days ago I listened with much interest to eulogies pronounced here upon a woman, Miss Willard, who has been accorded the great honor of having placed in the marble room of this Capitol a statue in commemoration of her, and strong terms of eulogy were pronounced upon her because of her great organizing power.

Had Miss Willard been a man and had she conducted political campaigns for the election of men to office and for the control of States and legislatures and Congresses she would have been denominated by the press of the country a "boss," and offensive things would have been said about her as well as eulogistic things. The true test apparently in the public mind or in the minds of the men who write and talk upon these

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topics is this: Was this individual my friend, and were he and I together in the contest? If so, the verdict is, he was a great organizer, a man who led public sentiment; but if he was on the other side, and led campaigns that defeated the writer or speaker, he at once sank to the ignoble character of "boss."

Now, if you will study the use of this term "boss" in American politics you will find that when the person using it is speaking about his friend or some one whom he admires he always speaks of that one as an "organizer," with great power of organization; but when they do not happen to be those, or they should happen to be individuals who have received some disastrous check of some ambition that they may have had, they fly very readily and profusely to the use of the word "boss," and "bad boss," and all the prefixes to "boss" that they can command.

QUAY was an organizer. He understood the full power and force of organization. There is, Mr. Speaker, no more just criticism of the man who organizes public sentiment and leads it out upon the battlefield of mind and discussion, of political and scientific or religious action, than there is to criticise the general of the army who forms the detail of organization, in the drill and preparation of a company or squad, and carries the troops forward to the division, to the army corps, and to the army.

I am going to tell one or two anecdotes about Mr. QUAY and make some reference to the episode to which the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Sibley] has referred, and one of these circumstances, I believe, has never been made public. I do not know that I shall print it in the Record. I will see how it looks when sent to me in manuscript. I thought of it only just now for the first time in years, when I heard such interesting language used by the gentleman to whom I have referred about the unswerving friendship of QUAY; how

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when he gave his word he never permitted it to fail. My anecdote is in illustration of that characteristic. In the winter of 1895, in December, the national committee met in the city of Washington to fix the time and place and other incidental features of the nominating convention of 1896. The friends of McKinley were not confident of his nomination, and they met here in Washington in an atmosphere that was very far from being suggestive of his success.

The opponents of McKinley were in full force in the corps of correspondents of the great newspapers, and as late as the middle of January, 1896, there were not found a half dozen newspaper men in Washington who did not confidently predict the nomination of another. The importance of a bureau or headquarters here in the city of Washington was recognized by everyone, and after a considerable discussion it was determined to open a sort of headquarters here, which was done, and they were maintained to the end of the contest. Then, after a good deal of discussion, in which Senator Hanna participated, of course, it was decided to request Senator QUAY to take command of the entire battle for the nomination of McKinley, so far as it was to be made from Washington. Nothing had been known publicly up to that time as to his position. After a very full discussion of the men of the country who had been prominent in political contests it was unanimously decided that there was no man in the country who could take up and develop the campaign of McKinley and organize the forces and achieve probable victory as well as QUAY. Two men were delegated to see him and talk the matter over. They met him in his library, which gentlemen have described, in this city—not the one in Beaver—and made known their wishes. He listened attentively, and he did not ask any questions about the probabilities or what the plans were. That struck our friends somewhat curiously. Why, when a question of so much

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importance as that was submitted to him and his leadership was requested, did he not ask the ordinary questions: "What are your chances? What are you doing? What do you propose to do? Where do you propose to look for strength in the contest?"

On the one side was McKinley; on the other side powerful men, we understood, were in the field. He made just this answer: Said he, "I am very fond of McKinley"—I do not know the exact words—"but I can not settle this question to-night. I must see another man and talk this matter over with him." And he fixed an hour two days later, when the same gentlemen called on him again, and he said: "I had great hopes when you were here the other night that I could accept the position which you offered me, but I had so far committed myself to the fortunes of another gentleman, not a candidate for President, but who will take an active part in opposition to McKinley, that I can not, without disappointment to him and refusal to carry out what I had given him encouragement to believe I would do, take the position. Now," he said, "I am very much obliged to you for the offer you have made." Then he said, with a kind of twinkle in his eye, "You have noticed, probably, I do not know any more about your campaign than I did when you came to me." I consider that a very complimentary and commendable feature of the politician. Everybody knows how earnestly and faithfully he fought the battle and how cordially and earnestly and intelligently he fell in line in support of McKinley after his nomination.

It will be remembered that in compliment to Senator QUAY, compliment only in the sense that it was universally believed to be impossible to nominate him, his State gave to QUAY at St. Louis its vote. He had discovered long before the convention that the inevitable fiat of the party in this country involved

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the nomination of William McKinley, and the time server, the selfish man, would have valued much higher the position that he might have secured in the estimation of the victorious column if he had come over to the McKinley forces than to have stayed out to the end, receiving a mere complimentary vote. But that would not have been QUAY. He had committed himself to the support and assistance of the gentleman to whom I have made reference without naming him, and he stayed to the last and went down in defeat rather than abandon the men with whom he had been associated.

It was significant that when Ohio was reached in the St. Louis convention and cast her vote for McKinley, it gave to that gentleman the nomination, and instantly, almost as if by magic, there were circulated throughout the entire convention beautiful buttons on which was the legend, "Pennsylvania will be foremost for McKinley in November."

Now, about the episode described by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. If I do not find that I am absolutely right about my recollection I shall not print what I am going to tell, but I think I am not mistaken. There was a collision between two great men, two men who had each for the other the highest regard, and they had a difficulty between them, a disagreement, that was bitter in its fruits. I never thought any the less of either one of them because of it. Mr. QUAY had voted upon the identical question in a former contest in the Senate—identical in every fact, every feature, every legal proposition; and without any advocacy, without any speech or explanation, he had voted against the seating of a Senator under precisely the same terms as surrounded him later on; and strangely enough, and to my mind sometimes almost sadly enough, Senator Hanna had voted on the other side of that question in the Oregon case. But the battle was fought out in the QUAY case,

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and it was fought out with the great power of the great men of the Senate.

And I may say here, as I go along, and I think I am justified in saying that the vote on the QUAY case settled the law of the United States Senate on that question probably for all time.

We have at this time the possibility of two opportunities, if you please, for the same question to come, and if you listen to the public conversations, the discussions in the newspapers, you will find that the QUAY case is pointed to as making it impossible that in either one of the two cases to which I have indirectly referred there can be any appointment by the governor if the legislature fail to elect.

Knowing Senator Hanna as well as I did, and knowing Senator QUAY somewhat, I feel like saying here and now that Senator QUAY in the Oregon case voted conscientiously, for he voted against the prevailing candidate and the wish of his party; and I know that in the vote of Senator Hanna—which, by the way, was not a vote, but a pair, which was the same thing in effect—he voted just as he believed his oath compelled him to vote. He said, and he said it more than once, that no act of his life gave him greater pain than that vote gave him.

Now they are both dead, and I accord to both of them, upon a question of so much personal interest, the conviction that each voted against his own personal feeling; and, second, that he voted conscientiously because he believed that he was compelled to do so. While this has not been the public estimation, I may as well admit it here.

I hope that if I should ever be eulogized in this House or anywhere else the worst things that can be said about me that are true may be stated then and frankly, for I would not give much for the glossing over of all the characteristics of a man, which may justly challenge criticism. That is not what

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eulogies are made for. I prefer that very early after I am dead the worst things that can be said about me that are true will be said, and not left to some one to discover these evils a hundred years after I am dead. I want the worst things to be said about me in the start, when there will be some sympathy for me and not cold criticism; and when there are still living contemporaries to analyze the statements.

I believe that Senator QUAY was one of the most uncompromising, never-ceasing leaders of politics that I ever knew, and I get my view of him in this respect not from his private interviews, but from my observation of him in the greater field of his operations. And let it be borne in mind that behind him always stood the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. More than once his enemies marshaled all the forces possible to overthrow him, and yet upon every one of these battlefields Senator QUAY came out a victor. That is my recollection about it.

Can it be possible that a State like Pennsylvania, with the glorious history of her past, which dates clear back to the pre-constitutional days, all along down through her magnificent history, that the people of Pennsylvania would hold up and honor and persistently hold up and persistently honor a man who was unworthy of their confidence? I do not believe it. I believe that the people of Pennsylvania looked through the assaults upon Senator QUAY and understood their motive. I do not mean the differences in political purpose, but I mean the exaggerated assaults that were made upon him, and I believe that they understood him better than did the great mass of the American people. And in doing so I believe they vindicated their judgment; and in coming here to-day to do honor to his memory I believe we do honor not only to him but to the great State that stood by him.

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Address of Mr. Kline, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: I trust it may not be regarded as presumptuous in one yet so strange and unfamiliar in this atmosphere and these surroundings to add a word of tribute to the memory of the distinguished Senator whose death thus brings us to this pause and serious contemplation.

As I listened in rapt attention to the eulogies and feeling utterances which were pronounced in the Senate yesterday and here to-day, wherein have been portrayed the character and public services of the dead Senator and statesman, I have felt it were in vain for me to attempt to supplement and add anything to what has been said with such eloquence, splendor of diction, and solemnity of thought.

I am not a political kinsman; why should I attempt to express that unspeakable sense of bereavement so generally felt in his party? Not belonging to the party of his faith, I can not depict, like others have done, that deep and sudden shock that quivered through the universal heart of his great party and stopped the course of thought for a time when on the afternoon of the last Saturday in May, 1904, the electric subtlety whispered and announced from his home in Beaver to every part of his State and this country, "Quay is dead."

When he left Philadelphia for the last time to go to his home in Beaver he made a declaration to one of his political friends which much impressed me, and may be apropos on this occasion. Being asked as to his health, he said: "Yes; I am a sick man. I am going home to die; and I have often wished that when I die I could find some lonely mountain crag and die there, away from the haunts of life."

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Well do I remember the day when the announcement flashed over the wires that QUAY had died, when one of his friends from the southwestern part of this country, interested in southwestern statehood, rushed out of the telegraph office in this city and declared, with emotion and tears in his eyes, "QUAY, the best friend I had in this world, has passed to the other side."

While I may say I knew him, that acquaintanceship was not intimate, but rather from afar; and therefore I do not have the power, such as others possess, to set before you his charming social qualities, the diversity of his powers, his cherished loyalty and unfading friendships; his genial, manly nature, his tender refinement of sentiment as those can and do who from long and close intimacy and political associations have been lured and bound within the close meshes of such influences and relations. But I am sure that my loyal and patriotic constituency, many of whom were numbered among his trusted and devoted friends, would not have me remain silent at this time when opportunity was accorded me to join in the recognition which the House to-day pays to the memory of the late Senator.

Although a political opponent, I appear to-day, as the dead Senator said in his memorial address on the life of the late Samuel J. Randall, "to cast the myrtle on his grave, not as a close associate or friend, but as a Representative of the great State he served so long and loved so well, bearing to his memory what is its due."

A large majority, Mr. Speaker, of my Congressional district differed from him upon many of the leading political issues which agitated the country and his State during his public career. But they always recognized and honored the exceptional abilities which won him distinguished advancement in

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the councils of the State and nation, and also and especially the undoubted consistency of his political life, and the excellencies, loyalty to friends and worth, which gave him such a remarkably strong hold upon the supporters of his party in his State.

As a public servant Senator QUAY was an honor to his party, to his State, and to the nation. His public life began in 1856, when he was elected prothonotary of Beaver County, and extended almost without interruption until death—a period of almost forty-eight years.

Within the short margin of four years, 1861–1865, he ran the remarkable gamut of lieutenant, major, chief of transportation and telegraphs, lieutenant-colonel, assistant commissary-general, military secretary to the governor of Pennsylvania, State military agent at Washington, and colonel of the One hundred and thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

He seemed to be born to a ceaseless activity and to be gifted with a power not only to do many things, but to do many things well. Whether as legislator, secretary of the Commonwealth, recorder of the city of Philadelphia, or chairman of the Republican State committee of Pennsylvania he was alert, vigorous, aggressive, and nothing seemed too hard for him to do and nothing found him unprepared.

It was in the State relations that he laid the foundation for his remarkable power of organization, which introduced him to national affairs, and made for him those friends who were bound to him by hooks of steel, and who followed him loyally through numerous phases of political fortune to its victorious end.

He entered national affairs in 1872 as a delegate to the Republican national convention, and was sent again in 1876 and 1880. In 1885 he was elected treasurer of Pennsylvania,

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and was sent to the United States Senate in 1887 and again in 1893. In 1888 he was elected a member of the national committee of his party, and was immediately made its chairman and ex officio chairman of its executive committee. It was in this place that his commanding ability as an organizer came to be recognized by the whole country. What seemed a hopeless case and campaign was, by his shrewd and vigorous efforts, turned into a great success and victory. He again represented Pennsylvania in the national conventions of 1892, 1896, and 1900. In the deadlock of 1899 he was defeated for reelection to the Senate. Nothing daunted, he appealed to the State convention of his party and was sustained. The legislature of 1901 ratified the action of the convention, and he entered upon the third term of his Senatorial career, the term which marked his demise and exit forever from the political arena.

He stands in America as one of the most persecuted men of his time. Writers who were personally well acquainted with him have said that his enemies even went so far as to say, "If we can not kill QUAY politically, we can kill him physically, by persecution."

He did more than any single man in the State of Pennsylvania to make that State solidly and overwhelmingly Republican. By training, by achievement, by inherent force, by eminence of natural ability and character, and by a remarkable knowledge of men, Senator QUAY was always equipped for his work, and always ready to advance it to a successful issue. Few men of America have shown greater activity, and still fewer have had their efforts crowned with such significant success. Tireless, fearless, indomitable, and resourceful, he won renown, and died in harness in the midst of the almost

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ceaseless exertions that had marked his course for nearly half a century.

It is hard, in a career so versatile as this, to seize upon the most signal characteristics of the man and pass them in rapid review.

He was not eloquent in speech, nor a great orator, nor did he make any claims as a public speaker; he was, however, well-read, a great thinker; and fond of the classics and choice literature.

That he was a partisan can not be denied; he gloried in the prowess of the Republican party and his most masterful blows were delivered for its success and unparalleled victories in Pennsylvania. He had decided views upon every question which came before him, whether as a soldier, legislator, politician, or Senator. He was acquainted with all the great men of the nation, and was a strong factor to be reckoned with in the settlement of every grave question. He was essentially master of his own mind; he did his own thinking; he was slow to reach a final decision, but when a course of action had been determined upon by him that course became absolute and unalterable.

The Democratic party recognized him as an able and shrewd antagonist. He was one who enjoyed the confidence of the substantial and corporate interests of the country. He was an ardent protectionist. He had an uncompromising faith in a protective tariff; he believed in the protection of American industries, and that the prosperity of the country could be most successfully and universally subserved and maintained by and through a protective tariff, and he took advantage of every opportunity to spread this doctrine. The principles of the Republican party were to him sacred, and he clung to them through all the contests as tenaciously as the mariner clings to the last plank when the night and tempest close around him.

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It can not be denied but that he had the warmest of friends; and bitterest of enemies, as well. In his numerous political contests he was misrepresented, vilified, and abused with great frequency. When reviled he reviled not again. He heeded not the assaults of his antagonists. He was blind to the cartoon and deaf to defamation, devoting all his thought and all his energies to win success. He lived down the libels, slanders, slurs, and vituperation which for many years during his political career had been hurled at and heaped upon him. He was one who after years of faithful struggle and astute management got the better of his libelers.

His enemies and those who differed with him in politics must admit that he was the most successful politician in the era in which he lived. His party in Pennsylvania was for many years obedient to his dictation and acted only upon his command. To-day friend and foe honor his memory; partisan politics are hushed, as with bowed head, and all feel that the world is better for his having lived in it.

Although naturally kind, his lack of demonstrativeness in a crowd set a seal of coldness upon his demeanor and placed a bar between him and the hasty friendships of an hour. In a crowd he was silent, reserved, and seemingly self-contained, but when one had his friendship, when one had gained a place in his esteem, as we are informed, he became an entirely different man. Among his friends he was open, frank, and unrestrained. He believed in their integrity, and when they were assailed he not only took the assault to himself, but put forth his supremest efforts in their behalf. But high over his party fealty and high over his loyalty to his friends must be placed his loyalty to himself, his supreme regard for the absolute inviolability of his word. His tact enabled him to know the limitation of his own power; his talent led him to use that power for his party's weal

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and, as he believed, for his country's good. The tact to know his power fully and the talent to use power were happily blended in the deceased. In the use of power, we are told, he was always slow to promise, but when that promise was given it became the highest law of his being. His word to an opponent was always equal to a bond; it was gilt-edged and was never protested. Men relied upon it with unfaltering trust, because he always made it good. He never promised what he could not perform, and he did not promise that which he did not do.

He survived the attacks and assaults of his enemies. If it be true that virtue survives the grave, then these virtues of our departed Senator will stand the shock of time and form an interesting page for good through ages yet to come. With sadness his friends gathered but a few short months ago to pay tribute to the friend they loved. QUAY is gone, but his memory will continue to live. The activity was gone, though the form remained. The clay was on the bier, but the soul which gave it power had passed beyond.

It is ever so. "The air is full of farewells to the dying and mournings for the dead." The soul of MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY has changed its residence. It lingers in the vast realm of the eternal, where we, who honor him to-day, must shortly wend our way.

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Address of Mr. Brown, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: I have prepared no eulogy upon the late Senator Quay, but I rise to speak as a member of the Pennsylvania delegation and particularly as representing the great county of Allegheny, where Mr. Quay counted his friends, acquaintances, and political followers by the thousands. He was a man who stood high in that community as a friend of the workingman and the business man, a man who did much to build up the Republican principles which have made our great county famous throughout the world. The late Senator Quay was not only a scholar, but he was a man who had a very deep insight into the character of men. He was acquainted with the influences which could bring men to do what another man wanted. A man of immense depth and grasp of mind, of immense mental vigor, and being of undoubted and unquestioned courage, is it a wonder that he entered into the political field, the great arena that afforded him opportunity for the exercise of the powers with which he was gifted by profession, by education, and by the times in which he was born?

Attaining manhood at a time when this nation was in the throes of a death struggle with a part of its own self; at a time when every man was a politician, when no man looked in silence on the questions which were before the country, is it a wonder that the late Senator Quay became a politician? It is not probable that he could have helped it. Is it a wonder, gifted with the powers that he had, that he became the power in the State of Pennsylvania and the power in the nation that he did? I regret, indeed, that I can not speak of him intimately, because my acquaintance with him was but passing, though it

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covered many years. He was a neighbor of mine in the city and county of Beaver, and there he was met and reverenced by his associates and his neighbors.

No greater tribute can be paid to a man than by his own neighbors. If a man stands well with his own people, you may be sure he has qualities that make him of the best in the land. The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Grosvenor] alluded to Senator QUAY as having behind him the State of Pennsylvania. That is true, Mr. Speaker. He did have the State of Pennsylvania behind him, but we must remember that he helped to make the State of Pennsylvania what it is—the stalwart Republican State of this country. Under his guidance it was built up until it was a power in national politics, and he himself had been its great leader.

It was not alone that Senator QUAY could appeal to those who were in influence. It was not alone that he could speak to those who were in power, but a large amount of his influence in the State of Pennsylvania was derived from the power he had over the common people, and I have been assured by those who were in the deepest political fights in which he participated and fought for his own political life that it was his appeal to the common people—to the workingmen, to the farmers of Pennsylvania—that brought him victories from those conflicts.

Mr. Speaker, as part of the great county of Allegheny, as one of the citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, as one of his neighbors, I rise to-day to add the tribute of myself and those whom I believe I represent to the memory of a statesman.

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Address of Mr. Goulden, of New York.

Mr. Speaker: As a comrade of the late lamented Matthew Stanley Quay I should feel lacking in those principles of fraternity that characterize the men who served their country in the days of 1861 to 1865 if I did not say a few words in his memory on this occasion. As a soldier he was known for his zeal and devotion to the cause of the Union. His bravery in action was never questioned. He was an ideal officer, strict in discipline, faithful in the discharge of his duties, and considerate of his men, who loved him.

As a statesman he stood in the front rank of those whose names are inscribed in the history of our country.

For more than a third of a century he was the leading figure in the great State of Pennsylvania. Few men in the life of the Republic have given so much to the growth and prosperity of their State and the nation as did Matthew Stanley Quay.

He was not merely successful as a political manager of a great party, but was recognized as a leader in the United States Senate and as one of the chief as well as safe advisers in the administration of the National Government. His patriotism and devotion to his country were never questioned.

As his neighbor for sixteen years, residing, as I did, in Pittsburg, it was my good fortune to see much of Senator Quay. It was my privilege, unsolicited on his part, to do him a favor twenty years ago which he never forgot.

In the change of administration caused by the election of that patriot, Robert E. Pattison, as governor of Pennsylvania, I was appointed one of the managers of the State reformatory

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in the western part of that Commonwealth. The superintendent of that institution, a large and important one, was the brother of Senator QUAY. Notwithstanding that the board of managers was Democratic, the brother, an efficient officer of long standing, was retained during our four years of control.

As a man, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY stood the highest. His word was the equivalent of other men's bonds.

It was a common expression throughout Pennsylvania for many years that Senator QUAY never forgot a friend nor a favor done.

To attain and retain the thousands of warm, intimate friends, regardless of political affiliation, as Senator QUAY did for nearly half a century, he must have possessed in an eminent degree those qualifications that tend to make up the true man.

As a native of the grand old Commonwealth, proud of its achievements; as his comrade, equally proud of his military record as a volunteer soldier of the Republic, and as his neighbor, I pay this brief tribute of respect to his memory.

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Address of Mr. Smith, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: It is with pleasure I embrace this opportunity to add my humble tribute to the memory of Senator Quay. Every phase of his character and every item that contributed to his greatness as a public servant or his amiable qualities as a man have been sufficiently dwelt upon by others in both ends of the Capitol. I shall therefore confine myself principally to his extraordinary prowess as a political leader. In this particular I believe he has never had a peer in this country, and that he was the most resourceful and altogether masterful political general that America has thus far produced. For nearly a generation he was as supreme in Pennsylvania as it is possible for one man to be in a great Commonwealth. His influence and power were the result not only of the sterling qualities of manhood which he possessed, but a thorough comprehension of political and social conditions and of an intimate acquaintance with men. His genius for political management was largely the genius of labor. He knew every man in every town and township in the State who took an interest in political affairs, and could measure accurately his value as an ally or his strength as an opponent. This knowledge was the result of prodigious pains and infinite application to detail. From his library at Beaver he could direct a political campaign as intelligently and effectively as though he were present in every community. His complete and systematic methods and his familiarity with every phase of the contest rendered him practically ubiquitous.

But Senator Quay's power in politics, like that of Napoleon's in war, was the result of an idea. That idea, materialized by

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genius, made Napoleon the greatest soldier of all time. The application of the same idea to politics by a great and energetic mind made MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY invincible.

Napoleon, during his first campaign in Italy, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This suggested to him the value of a personal guard of picked men, upon whose valor and devotion he might always rely. That idea was the germ from which grew the Imperial Guard, the most magnificent fighting machine of ancient or modern times. Immediately upon assuming the office of First Consul, Napoleon began the organization of his guard, which was to be an ideal regiment, culled with care from the flower of the chivalry of France. The qualifications of a candidate for the guard were that he should be able to read and write, that he must have made at least four campaigns, obtained rewards for deeds of valor or noble conduct, or been wounded. Above all, he must have maintained an irreproachable character. He gave his personal attention to the discipline and training of these soldiers, looked after their comfort and their conduct, shared their hardships, wept with them, and rejoiced with them.

This body of soldiers, augmented and perfected, became the famous Imperial Guard, which conquered Europe and enshrined its creator in the most brilliant halo of glory that ever encircled the brow of man. It never recoiled before a human foe, and with the single exception of Waterloo never failed to retrieve the most desperate situation. Even on that fatal day it was true to its tradition, "The Old Guard dies—it never surrenders." When the Eagles of the Old Guard were seen advancing through the smoke of battle the result was no longer in doubt.

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The force it possessed over others—

Says the Historian Headley—

was as much moral as physical. Beaten troops rallied at its approach, despair gave way to confidence, and the cry of terror was changed into the shout of victory. The enemy, on the other hand, when they saw the deep and massive columns of the Guard approach, were already half beaten. The prestige of victory that went with the Eagles paralyzed their arms, and they struggled against hope. So perfect was their discipline that their tread was unlike that of other regiments, while the consciousness of their power gave a grandeur to their movements no other body of troops in the world has ever possessed. Napoleon loved them devotedly and called them his children. And well did they deserve his love. For him they knew no weariness or pain, and for his welfare they would move steadily on to death.

Whether or not Senator QUAY got his idea of a political organization from Napoleon, certain it was that he worked on that same plan in Pennsylvania, and the results were analogous. The most influential, loyal, and uncompromising Republicans and the most successful party workers were won over to his standard by the magnetism of his personality and served him with a loyalty and devotion quite as unswerving as the Old Guard of Napoleon served their general and Emperor. When a political contest was to be won, all Senator QUAY needed to do was to give the word and there were no questions asked. It was enough that "the Old Man," as he was affectionately styled by his adherents, wished it so.

It was said of the Old Guard of Napoleon that it never made a charge that did not give an impulse to liberty; that every time it broke the ranks of the despots of Europe it wrenched a fetter from the human mind; that its heavy footsteps sounded the death knell of tyranny in all Europe, and that its iron columns shattered feudalism into a thousand fragments. Of Senator QUAY'S political organization in Penn-

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sylvania it may be said that it always stood a "column of granite" for the principles of the Republican party. It never charged the enemy unless to rescue its general from beneath the hoofs of malice and detraction that it did not lessen the burdens of the people, take a long step in the direction of progress, or put to rout the enemies of protection. Fierce factional strife was often engendered, when all the batteries of vilification were let loose and all aimed at their leader, but they never faltered in their allegiance. Only a man of extraordinary qualities of head and heart could have retained his adherents under such circumstances.

Senator QUAY won men to him by acts of kindness; by his gentle, modest, unassuming manners; by the warmth of his sympathies and the unerring wisdom of his counsels. He held them by a religious adherence to his promises and by the exhibition of a lively sense of gratitude for services rendered. During his numerous contests for political supremacy in Pennsylvania he had many opportunities to test the loyalty of his friends, and in no instance did they fail him. The devotion of Senator QUAY'S followers was the greatest source of his satisfaction and pride. He joyed in their good fortunes, and at their sorrows bowed his head in grief. To illustrate: During the memorable struggle of the QUAY and anti-QUAY factions for supremacy in 1899, when practically all of the leading State officials, a large majority of the daily newspapers, the Republican organizations of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and many of his former allies in the rural districts had deserted him, and Senator QUAY was fighting for political life, he was conducting his campaign for State chairman at his headquarters in Philadelphia. He was sitting at a table one day surrounded by a number of his faithful friends and

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coworkers, when a messenger entered and laid a package of letters before him. He had been exerting every energy and drawing upon every resource of his power in what appeared to be a desperate, almost hopeless contest.

Every one of his old guard had been called upon to aid in the struggle, and Senator QUAY had written many appeals for succor with his own hand. When these letters were laid before him he opened and read the first one, and his eyes were immediately flooded with tears. One of his friends who sat near, noticing his agitation, and thinking the letter contained some unwelcome news from home, asked if there was anything serious the matter. Senator QUAY attempted to reply, but choked with emotion and walked hastily into an adjoining room in order to conceal his perturbation. His friend picked up the letter, which had been left lying on the table, in order to ascertain what it was that had so wrought upon the Senator's feelings. It was in the handwriting of a girl, and simply said: "Dear Mr. QUAY: Father is dead, but mother and the boys are for you."

The devotion of Napoleon to his Old Guard was never more beautifully illustrated than that.

Senator QUAY'S genius for political organization was also utilized to good effect in national politics, and on several notable occasions proved to be of vast importance to the Republican party. But the "Silent man of Beaver" possessed greater qualities than a genius for political organization and leadership. He was a gallant soldier during the civil war, having risen to the rank of colonel. "He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one." It would have been difficult to find a man anywhere whose familiarity with the classics and whose knowledge of history, ancient and modern, were greater than his. He was

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the possessor of one of the finest private libraries in Pennsylvania, and it was his special delight to be alone with his books, to commune with the great souls of other centuries. He was a statesman, but in this regard "his praise is hymned by loftier harps than mine." He was not only admired, but loved, by the greatest of his colleagues in the Senate. The late Senator Vest, of Missouri, said of him: "Of all the public men with whom it was my pleasure to associate in Washington, I admired Senator QUAY most and loved him best." Other great men of that body were equally devoted to him, and the present occupant of the White House was his sincere friend. The admiration was reciprocal, for Senator QUAY regarded President Roosevelt as the ablest, most courageous, and altogether wholesome man of affairs of this generation.

Senator QUAY was not an orator in the commonly accepted meaning of the word. He did not affect the graces of declamation. He preferred deeds to words. Men speak but little when vanity does not induce them to speak, and as vain men are generally shallow, and shallowness is always noisy, loquacity is oftener an evidence of littleness than of greatness. Senator QUAY spoke only when he had a message to deliver, and then always in behalf of others—never for mere ostentation or vainglory. But he was the master of a clear and forceful literary style, and when it became necessary to make himself heard he expressed himself in language that was classic in its purity, pregnant with thought, and bristling with logic and power.

Senator QUAY was a lover of nature. He loved the mountains, the woods, the ocean, the flowing rivers, and the rippling brooks. He was kind, genial, companionable, sympathetic. Distress never appealed to him in vain. To the voice of sorrow he gave a willing ear, and took up the burdens of others as

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cheerfully as if they were his own. He loved his friends and forgave a contrite enemy with cordial magnanimity. In spite of misrepresentation and detraction, born of rivalry and the rancor of faction, it may yet be truthfully affirmed that of all the great characters that have impressed their individualities upon the imperial Commonwealth of Pennsylvania none will be cherished with a more ardent and enduring affection by its people than MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

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ADDRESS OF MR. RODEY, OF NEW MEXICO.

Mr. SPEAKER: At the loss of those who disinterestedly befriended us we necessarily feel the deepest sorrow; of such friends we believe not the slanders of enemies; we heed not the prejudiced pratings of jealous rivals. In feeling the touch of his kindly aid to myself and his great help to the people and the cause I have had the honor of representing in this House and before this Congress is the measure of my acquaintance with and knowledge of the great man to whose memory we here to-day pay deserved tribute. Through parties who then were our mutual friends, the great man was induced to take an interest in my efforts to bring New Mexico into the Union as a State in the Fifty-seventh Congress. The battle he waged attracted the attention of the nation, and, though unsuccessful, has gone into history as the greatest parliamentary contention of modern times in these United States.

After the omnibus statehood bill for the admission to the Union as States of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma had passed this House in the latter part of the long session of the Fifty-seventh Congress and went to the Senate, Senator QUAY took charge of it there. After much sparring and diplomatic parliamentary contention he finally permitted it to go over to the short session, but with the proviso that it was to be reported from the committee at an early day of the session and should thereafter be the "unfinished business."

Thereafter, during the succeeding fall, a subcommittee of the Committee on Territories of the United States Senate visited the Territories and made an adverse report as to their admission singly. This report has gone into history as a grave injustice

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to those jurisdictions. But since that time many of us have come to regard with much less aversion the arguments made in that report for a consolidation of New Mexico and Arizona. The great battle came on early in the short session following, and continued without abatement during the three months of its duration until the bill was finally "talked to death," as the session expired by limitation on March 4, 1903, at noon. Naturally the friends of the Territories, including myself, were downcast at the result, but, undaunted, we prepared to renew the great fight at the succeeding session.

The Congressional Record of the two sessions of the Fifty-seventh Congress contains an immense mass of unjust and slanderous debate against New Mexico and Arizona, which, I venture to say, will, in time to come, as those Territories fulfill their destinies, prove as unwarranted as the statements in former times made by Daniel Webster about California. In the fore part of June, 1902, Senator QUAY, when endeavoring to pass the original "omnibus statehood bill," made a speech that is now embalmed in everlasting print in the Record, in which is set forth the rights of the Territories and the platform promises made in their behalf, and set forth the names of many Senators and men then in high official life who were members of the national conventions that adopted those platforms. This speech is, indeed, interesting reading. For it, and as a token of thanks and appreciation of his great efforts in our behalf, the county of Quay adorns the map of New Mexico to-day, and our legislature and conventions adopted unanimous resolutions in his unstinted praise.

During the statehood fight in the second half of the Fifty-seventh Congress I had great opportunity to study Senator QUAY, both as a statesman and as a man. He was always a great puzzle to me. The Delegates from the Territories

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and their friends submitted to his unquestioned leadership in all things. They soon learned to have the fullest confidence in all his acts. He sent for us when he wanted us, and we obeyed him like soldiers under a general. When we reported the results of interviews to him, his statement was, "Tell me what he said," evidently relying more on his own knowledge of men than upon the exuberant views and conclusions of inexperienced Delegates. He could do more and say less about it than any man I ever saw, and yet he spoke as often as was necessary, but every sentence was full of wisdom and was invariably in furtherance of a plan. I never knew his equal in causing all details to be attended to. The night before the great "test vote," which was intended by its opponents to displace the statehood bill in that short session, was indeed a strenuous one. Myself and others reported at his residence, where he sat up to receive us, hour after hour, notwithstanding the great storm that prevailed, until nearly 3 o'clock in the morning, at which time the position of every Senator was known and every vote that could be was paired.

The result next day was a victory for QUAY and the Territories, and silenced the contention that the statehoodites were obstructionists, for they showed a clear constitutional majority of 12 votes in favor of the pending omnibus bill, which would insure its passage could a vote be had. This test forced the opponents of the Territories, who were in the minority, to continue the debate to the end of the session, in order to defeat the bill. At the close of that Congress Senator QUAY sent for me, and the question of joint statehood was for the first time broached. During the following summer and fall the question was agitated considerably in the press of the Territories, and in New Mexico received a very considerable support, which has

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ever since grown until to-day quite a large per cent of our people would, if they could, select joint statehood with Arizona as a first choice. However, the Territories determined to fight for what they then conceived to be their inherent rights—separate statehood—as long as there was any chance for it, and to that end at once, on the convening of the Fifty-eighth Congress, introduced their separate bills. The battle waged for months before the House committee, and finally, when the Republican majority of that committee resolved that it would report no bill save one to make two States out of the four Territories, to include Indian Territory, Oklahoma and New Mexico acquiesced, and the joint statehood bill of the present session was the result. It was submitted to a party caucus of this House and passed under a rule brought in for the purpose on April 19, 1904. Much to my anxiety, during the summer and fall of 1903 and winter of 1903–4, the health of Senator QUAY had been perceptibly failing. He had been away during nearly all of the early summer of 1903 in Maine, and in the early months of 1904 at Atlantic City and in Florida, trying to benefit his health. So solicitous did I feel that in the summer of 1903 I took a trip out to his home at Beaver, Pa., to see him. During the early spring of 1904 I called almost daily at his residence to ascertain his condition, which was not assuring. Finally, when, in May, 1904, he departed from Washington to his home in Beaver, I knew that he was never to return.

Though not by name, I notice that Representative Kline has referred to me in these eulogies and to the sorrow I felt on receiving the wire news of the great man's demise. What Mr. Kline has said is true. Senator MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY was the best friend of all the Territories, and his loss to those jurisdictions is irreparable. His loss was more than this. It was a great personal loss to me. If he had lived, certain

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political events which have since occurred in New Mexico could never have taken place—for he was my friend. I realized, though indistinctly at the time, as I stood in the rain over the great man's grave where we buried his remains last summer in Beaver, Pa., that from the body in the casket we lowered into the grave had gone out the life that was my political protection. The consequences have since come to pass.

A letter I received from Senator QUAY, written to me from Atlantic City, N. J., in the latter part of April, 1904, and while he was in what proved to be his last illness, showed me that he was no lover of joint statehood, but considered it a compromise. I wish I had the letter at hand to insert here, but I have not. Another Congress is about to close without justice being done to the Territories. How long will this great battle continue? Will the next Congress settle it? Will time bring into the Union what QUAY predicted—four additional States—or three, or only two? Time alone can tell. There are those in the Territories now who believe that perhaps "Arizona the great" would be better for us than "Arizona the little." Let the votes of the people decide.

Senator QUAY had, it is said, proud Indian blood in his veins, and his stolid, sphinxlike, uncomplaining demeanor tended to prove it. I doff my hat to those citizens who have proud Indian blood in their veins—they are a notch higher in real Americanism than the rest of us. He was the Indians' best friend. No measure involving their rights passed the Senate in recent years without it first received his approval. Many a time during the great statehood fight in the Fifty-seventh Congress when I called at his residence here in Washington did I find his waiting room filled with Indians. They came to see him from all tribes and all parts of the nation.

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record in Pennsylvania is secure from further assaults. His work as a Senator and as a great leader of partisan politics will be more than highly appreciated as the years go by. Scholarly, sagacious, courageous, he lived his life so as to leave to his State, his nation, and his family the splendid heritage of a great name.

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Address of Mr. Morrell, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: The morning of June 1 saw assembled in the various hotels of Pittsburg men distinguished in every walk of life. Every train arriving the day previous had brought its quota, all with grave faces and with sadness in their hearts. At an early hour these men boarded special trains for the town of Beaver. The rain which had threatened in the early morning now came down steadily. When Beaver was reached all disembarked from the trains and made their way to the Presbyterian Church. The business of the town was at a standstill; great crowds lined the streets and blocked the doors of the church, hoping, if possible, to obtain an entrance after those specially invited had been seated. There was not one among that multitude of people but what in deportment gave evidence of sincere grief and of a desire to pay tribute by his presence to the memory of the man who had lived among them so long and was soon to be laid in his last resting place.

Those of us who were present remember the services, grand and impressive in their simplicity, and the fitting tributes which were paid to the memory of the deoarted by the officiating clergymen.

The services over, the cortège formed to proceed to the cemetery. The streets from the church to the cemetery, like those through which we had already passed, were lined with all sorts and conditions of people, all apparently with but one object in view, that of paying respect.

The ceremonies at the grave were, as the deceased would have wished, characterized by the same simplicity as those at the church. While these were in progress the rain, which had

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continued to that time, suddenly came down in torrents, and peal after peal of thunder followed one after the other, just as if a last salute was being fired in honor of one of Pennsylvania's bravest sons, one of the State's and nation's ablest counselors, while the rain was symbolic of the tears of those who had gone before or who, being unable to be present, wept in their hearts at home.

Who, Mr. Speaker, was laid at rest? A man whose traits of character were the kind described by Charles Wagner in his Simple Life—courageous, sincere, generous, and simple in his tastes and life.

Courageous he certainly was, not only in the face of an armed foe, as is proved by his war record, but also how often in his political career had he not snatched victory out of apparent defeat. His courage and tenacity of purpose were equally well demonstrated in his championing measures on the floor of the Senate, many important bills becoming laws simply through his determined stand.

His sincerity of character was best demonstrated by his loyalty to his friends and the high estimate which he placed upon that characteristic in a man. I am told by those who knew him best that it was the man's own fault from whom Mr. QUAY ever withdrew his friendship and confidence after it was once placed. Generous he certainly was to a fault. I do not believe that anyone ever went to him for anything that he was refused, whether it was for pecuniary assistance or for some benefit which he could confer. His willingness to forgive those who had opposed him in political strife was simply phenomenal; so much so that those of his closest friends would at times fear for the results. Yet this willingness to forgive, I am confident, won for him hosts and hosts of friends, because it was always done in so frank and ample a way as to make the forgiven ones

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ashamed and feel that they must have been mistaken in their own judgment.

His manner of life at home, his love of all things which belonged to outdoor life, and his absolute freedom, in spite of his recognized ability and learning, from any kind of personal vanity or ostentation are tributes to the simplicity of his character.

Mr. QUAY'S political foresight was probably superior to that of any man of his time. His reliance in the good sense and judgment of the people of the country at large upon a live political question was simply marvelous. This was best demonstrated by the fact that in every great crisis in his political career he appealed for a verdict to the people of the State of Pennsylvania, and seldom, if ever, in vain.

By Mr. QUAY'S death many lost a friend. I do not refer so much to those who have plenty of friends on account of their position or wealth, but to those who on account of their lowly estate lost in him, if not their only, at least their most powerful friend. In this connection I speak from personal knowledge of his friendship for the friendless Indians and his powerful and unflagging interest in their behalf. Nor was his friendship unappreciated by them, for I am sure that long before this has the death of their stanch friend at Washington been mourned by these simple people in the wigwams and at their council fires with a sincerity equal to the deepest feelings of those who through association were nearer and dearer to him.

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Address of Mr. Babcock, of Wisconsin.

Mr. Speaker: I am glad to be able to add a few words in behalf of my late friend, the Hon. Matthew Stanley Quay. I knew him well for many years. There have been but few men actively engaged in politics whose standard of right was so high as his.

Unfortunately, the critics, the opposition, and many times the press, misrepresent those in public life, and their motives are misconstrued and placed in a light that the facts would not warrant. I have known him to be in many positions that tried his sturdy character to the utmost limit, but when his word was once pledged or given, or when he had assumed an obligation, it never occurred to his loyal mind that it could be broken or that there was any path to follow except the one he had indicated.

A character so loyal to itself and to its friends demands the admiration of all. In Senator Quay I lost a personal friend whom I loved, the country lost a statesman and patriot, and I shall always feel that my acquaintance with him will be one of the dearest memories I can cherish.

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Address of Mr. Bates, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker: Matthew Stanley Quay died in the midst of his labors and his honors and at the time of his greatest influence and usefulness in the world. He was a schoolboy at Dillsburg, York County, Pa. He graduated from Washington and Jefferson College. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law. He was prothonotary of Beaver County, and elected for two terms. He was a lieutenant in the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves. He was colonel of the One hundred and thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers. He was assistant commissary-general. He was military secretary for the State of Pennsylvania at Washington. He was private secretary of the governor of Pennsylvania. He was chief of transportation and telegraph. He was twice elected a member of the legislature. He was secretary of the Commonwealth under four different administrations. He was recorder of the city of Philadelphia. He was chairman of the Republican State committee. He was State treasurer of Pennsylvania. He was a delegate to several national conventions. He was chairman of the Republican national committee. He received the vote of Pennsylvania for Presidential nomination in a Republican national convention. He was three times elected a Senator of the United States. In all these varied positions, both civil and military, in which he served the people of his county, his Commonwealth, and the nation at large, he brought to each duty an earnest purpose, born of a desire to fulfill and accomplish the highest measure of usefulness for those whom he represented and so faithfully served. One who has filled, and successfully filled, the offices of trust and responsibility

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which I have just recounted must be denominated truly great. Especially is this true when the scenes of activity and achievement are among people of the highest patriotism and most conspicuous public and private virtue. Pennsylvania has been the scene of his endeavors for nearly half a century.

So closely identified was Senator QUAY with almost every State administration for the past forty years, and with such alertness did he lend his aid to every prevailing policy in that Commonwealth during all these years, that to speak truly of Senator QUAY is to speak of times in which he lived and of the history of his native State; for how can the effect of a prevailing master mind be disassociated from the events and happenings during the time he served so conspicuously on the public stage? He was a member of the State legislature at Harrisburg and chairman of the committee on ways and means in that body when the State tax was absolutely removed from real estate in Pennsylvania, never again to be imposed. At the beginning of that decade the State debt of Pennsylvania was $40,000,000. It was gradually reduced until within the last ten years the State has been practically out of debt. During all these years the State government has been wisely and economically administered—administered, indeed, with an economy which, in view of the population, wealth, territory, industries, manufactures, mines, oil productions, railroads, and canals, seems absolutely marvelous.

With annual revenues from taxation of about $15,300,000, the Commonwealth pays in appropriations to public schools $5,500,000, the largest amount paid by any State in the Union. It pays to normal schools and other institutions upward of $1,000,000; to charitable institutions about $2,500,000; for the invalid insane, $1,300,000; for judiciary, $700,000; for National Guard, $400,000; for county bridges, highways, etc., upward

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of $1,000,000, and for penal institutions about $500,000, leaving only about $2,900,000 to defray the salaries and expenses of the officers and employees of the entire Commonwealth, including the legislature and all public works and necessary expenditures. The consolidated debt of all the counties, municipalities, and school districts in the State is about $10 per capita, the smallest of any of the more important States, if not the smallest of any State in the Union, and during all these forty years not a single dollar has been lost to the people by any defalcation of any public official, and though depositories might fail, sufficient sureties have always held the public money secure. At the commencement of that decade not only land, but horses, cattle, carriages, watches, and professions were all taxed for State purposes.

For years they have been exempt, the public funds of the State being derived almost entirely from taxes upon corporations, which bear these burdens willingly in appreciation of a safe and well-ordered and well-disposed Commonwealth. In all the public acts and policies which have led to such a satisfactory condition of the internal affairs of his native State Senator QUAY could truly say, "Quorum pars magni fui." He was a man not well understood by some and not always appreciated at his true value. He was a scholar. He spent no happier hours than when surrounded by his books. He could truly say, with Prospero, "My library is dukedom large enough for me." He was of a refined and gentle nature. His father had been a Presbyterian clergyman, and he ever had reverence for sacred things and for religious human instincts.

On one occasion a bill had been introduced in the legislature at Harrisburg to legalize pool selling at county and agricultural fairs. It had been petitioned for by many farmers' associations, wholly with the idea of assisting to maintain the project of

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agricultural fairs. When advice was asked of Senator QUAY, he glanced over the bill and replied: "No; while for a seemingly worthy object, it may offend the religious and moral feelings of our people," and the bill was laid aside. He preached a sermon once; more effective and far-reaching for good than many which have been delivered from sacred desks. It is related that while the appropriation for the benefit of the World's Fair at Chicago was under consideration in the Senate a provision was inserted, by way of an amendment, to close the fair on Sunday, and this amendment was debated pro and con. Senator QUAY'S speech was as follows. He arose and said:

Mr. President, I desire to send to the Clerk's desk and have read to the Senate an extract from an old law book which once belonged to my father.

And then sent up and had read from an old, well-worn volume the following passage, which he had marked: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." He could truly be called a humanitarian. It was this instinct within him which led him to favor a change in the immigration laws relating to the exclusion of the Chinese and to favor the admission of those of that race who had embraced the Christian religion or who had in any way assisted in the defense of the missionaries and the American legation during the Boxer uprising and the terrible siege which ensued. In one of the last public speeches he ever delivered he used the following words:

GOLDEN RULE FOR CHINA.

We are deeply interested in the foreign policy of the nation, and all seems well in its conduct. The Philippines will soon have a government by consent of their people, and within a score of years may develop into independence peacefully and under our protection. In China we have but to apply the golden rule—treat China as we would have China treat us—recognize that despite her savagery the Empress Dowager is the greatest woman born in Asia since the birth of Semiramis, and Tuan as the representative of patriotic Chinese thought, and all can be made well there.

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That nation of 400,000,000 people is present on earth for an Almighty purpose, and while the great European powers may pencil lines of partition for Chinese territory they will never divide the Chinese people.

Compare with China the Mesopotamian people once inhabiting the land of the Garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve were created. First there were the mysterious Sumerians. Who they were and how they lived and when they died no one knoweth. They gave to man the alphabet and passed away, leaving no more trace on the earth than the shadow of a cloud flitting over its surface. Then came the Chaldeans and Babylonians, and Babylon fell. Assyria arose and Assyrians built Nineveh, and both these great cities are only to-day commencing to tell their stories to American explorers. Four hundred years after the fall of Nineveh, thousands of years ago, Xenophon marched his Greeks over the site of that city and knew it not. Then came the Chaldeans again, and Persians shone a brief period and were extinguished.

COMPARED WITH JEWISH NATION.

A Chaldean family fortified the rock of Jerusalem and grew into a nation which was the chosen of God. The visible presence of the Almighty illuminated its temples and glinted on the spear point and the shield of the Jewish soldier as he marched to battle. That race gave to men their greatest soldier, their greatest poet, their greatest lawgiver, and their Messiah. Where is the Hebrew nation now?

During all these ages China grew, developed a self-sustaining civilization and a resistance to decay such as marked no other nation. When our forefathers were clad in the skins of beasts, earning their sustenance in the forests by the chase, armed with flint-headed weapons, China had Confucius and Astrolgabes and was calculating eclipses. We should respect China for what she has been, and sympathize with her in her trials, and look forward with hope to her future and the fulfillment of her mission.

I believe the characteristics which I have mentioned were natural to the man. But all earthly work must end. Humanity is a procession. Our words of farewell to a fellow-workman should not alone be those of grief that man's common lot has come to him, but of pride and joy for all the good he has accomplished. Men so weave themselves into their hour that, for the moment, it seems as though much will be interrupted when they depart. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth forever." The progress of the race goes on and we realize

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in every step more and more its upward tendency. We are all agents, great or small, in a mighty purpose. If we and all things are not working together for good, if our life is but a breath exhaled and then forever lost, our work means little.

Senator QUAY was a man of the broadest sympathies. He never exhibited any narrow prejudice or sectional repugnancy or vindictiveness toward any part of his country or countrymen. His attitude in this regard was that of a true American. He suffered often from base and intentional misrepresentation, and was sometimes attacked by those who owed him fealty instead; but he pursued the even tenor of his way, was never vindictive, and his magnanimous traits of character won him increasing friendships all his life. When the end came, and all earthly aid stood at naught, the people of Pennsylvania and of the nation mourned, and expressions of sympathy were poured forth to the sorrowing wife and sons and daughters, who bowed at his side before the visitation of Almighty power.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolutions which have been offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Adams].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The question was taken; and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In pursuance of the resolution, the House stands adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

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